

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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JULY, 1849.

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ART. I. — DISCOVERY OF THE ANCIENT NINEVEH.\*

MANY rare qualities must be united to make an English traveller of the first class, — sure-footed common sense, high-toned self-respect, and a thirst for knowledge, with a prevalent flavor of that “genuine old Teutonic pluck,” which carries John Bull in equal triumph through a steeple-chase, a Highland deer-stalking, or a midsummer morning at Waterloo. We expect from him a straight-forward, vernacular way of telling his story, with a gentleman’s hatred of pedantry and cant, and only so much vanity as may be lodged under the cloak of patriotism. Even among men of this stamp, Mr. Layard has at once taken a place in the foremost rank. He has proved himself, by his steady perseverance, his generous self-devotion, his quick decision, and his exquisite tact, to be equal to the most critical emergencies, and by his gracefully modest, but manly narrative, to the more delicate trial of recording his own astonishing success. He appears, indeed, to have the power of adapting himself at once to new situations and circumstances. He is equally ready for a lion-hunt in Susiana or a gazelle-chase in Assyria;

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\* *Nineveh and its Remains: with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians.* By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D. C. L. In two volumes. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 8vo. pp. 326 and 373.

he joins in the debkè with Arabs, or the jerid with Kurds ; he relishes the wild life of the rover of the desert, and cheerfully accepts the simple hospitality of the mountaineer. He has all the painstaking minuteness of an antiquary, with the free and liberal humanity of one who has known his fellow-men under every form.

We know not which is more to be congratulated, Mr. Layard, in having been allowed to introduce Nineveh to modern society, or the ancient daughter of Assyria herself, in having met with so considerate and gentlemanlike an admirer. Ignorant as she must needs be of the nineteenth century, she cannot know the full extent of her felicity in having fallen into the hands of a practical, sober-minded Englishman. The first impression in such cases is everything. Mr. Layard has thrown around her the charm of his own character, and presented her in a most amiable and interesting light. She might have been consigned to pedants or coxcombs, who would have given us a Gallic daub or a Saxon skeleton, instead of a genuine likeness. And surely, a more imposing field never offered itself to an adventurous traveller than that which Mr. Layard has cultivated with such success. Nineveh has been fortunate ; our traveller has been fortunate ; and every reader of his work, we are sure, will deem himself fortunate.

We wish we knew more of this interesting man, for it is impossible to forget him even in the record of his striking discoveries. Our acquaintance with him ripens fast into personal regard ; and we soon cease to wonder at the sway he gained alike over the Arab of the desert and the Christian of the mountain. He takes us with him in his plans, his pleasures, and his toils, with the irresistible attraction of a hearty and generous nature. A character so well balanced must have been built on a foundation of instructive and entertaining experience. We have found, however, no notices of his previous life, except in his own rare and cursory reminiscences, and two or three papers communicated by him or his fellow-travellers to the valuable, but necessarily prosaic, *Journal of the London Geographical Society*. From these sources we learn that he is an Oriental wanderer of at least nine years' standing, and in that time has diverted himself with various excursions in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Khuzistan, undertaken apparently from the sheer love of adventure and inquiry, and sometimes in the face of

serious danger. One of these jaunts was to visit some ancient sites in the land of the Bakhtiyari mountaineers, a race descended from those Parthians who destroyed the legions of Crassus. We have the testimony of Lieutenant Selby, who had known him in the East, to the "perseverance, forbearance, aptitude, and amiability," which had carried him in safety through a wild region in which two English travellers had recently perished, and had enabled him to establish a friendly feeling between these rude mountaineers and the English, the good effects of which Lieutenant Selby himself experienced. The volumes before us are full of the same traits; and we are much mistaken if the administrative and diplomatic ability displayed by Mr. Layard, in the peculiar circumstances in which he has been placed, do not hereafter raise him to eminent distinction in his country's service.

Mr. Layard himself has informed us how his attention was drawn to the ruins of Nineveh. In the spring of 1840, he arrived at Mosul, on the Tigris, after a journey through Asia Minor and Syria, in which, to use his own words, he had scarcely left "untrod one spot hallowed by tradition, or unvisited one ruin consecrated by history." While he was on a short excursion into the desert, he saw at a distance, for the first time, the vast mound which bears the name of Nimroud, and which afterwards became the scene of those explorations which have revealed the capital of Assyria to the gaze of the world.\* A few days after, as he was descending the Tigris to Baghdad, he had a nearer view of this mound; and so greatly was his curiosity excited, that he determined at a future day to explore it. In 1842, he was once more at Mosul, on his way to Constantinople. Here he found that M. Botta, the resident French Consul, had commenced excavations in a large mound, opposite to Mosul, called Kouyunjik (the Little Lamb), but only with scanty results. Shortly afterwards, however, M. Botta was induced to transfer his operations to a mound on which was built the village of Khorsabad, about fourteen miles to the northeast, where his labors were rewarded by the first discovery of an Assyrian monument. He suc-

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\* Rich places Nimroud (the village, we presume) at eighteen and one fifth geographical miles from Mosul, by land. This corresponds very well with Mr. Layard's estimate of the distance between Kouyunjik and the mound of Nimroud. The map accompanying the second volume gives a greater distance, and is, probably, not quite correct.

ceeded in opening a chamber, constructed of slabs of gypsum sculptured over with representations of battles, sieges, and the like. Under the action of fire, however, these had been, ages before, reduced to lime ; and most of them fell so soon to pieces, on exposure to the air, that M. Botta had hardly time to take rude drawings of them. With an honorable generosity, he communicated his discoveries to Mr. Layard, then at Constantinople. The works were continued under the auspices of the French government, until, in 1845, the monument had been completely uncovered, and a valuable addition was made to the stock of Assyrian antiquities in Europe, the principal collection of which had tenanted, in common with what was left of Babylon, a case in the British Museum scarcely three feet square.

Meanwhile, Mr. Layard had not lost sight of Nimroud. At Mosul he had called M. Botta's attention to these remains ; and he subsequently endeavoured to interest various persons in Europe in the subject, but for some time with no great success. At length, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning, the British Minister at Constantinople, to whom the British Museum was already indebted for some of its most interesting relics, generously offered, for a limited period, to bear the expense of excavations in Assyria. Mr. Layard eagerly seized this happy opportunity ; and, having provided himself with recommendatory documents, was again in Mosul at the end of October.

Here, then, the narrative of his labors begins ; and it would be difficult to name another book of travels which unites in so great a degree the charm of personal adventure with the interest of historical research, — a rare union, which has made the fortune of the book. Considered in either aspect, these volumes abound in materials for an article far exceeding our moderate limits. Our attention is divided between modern Assyria, on the one hand, — whose condition, so well described in these lively sketches, perpetually tempts the reader to moralize on the social and political features of Mohammedanism, — and, on the other, the hoary remains of the elder world, which have been so suddenly roused from their sleep of tens of centuries. We must confine ourselves to the most superficial notice of the work, in either point of view, hoping that our cursory review may induce our readers to resort to Mr. Layard himself, who is now presented to them by that generous publisher, Mr. Putnam, in a very respectable American dress.

Mr. Layard lost no time in paying his respects to Mohammed Pasha, the governor of the province in which Mosul is situated. This man, a native of Candia, was a most disgusting specimen of the class of brutes who are so often let loose upon the distant inhabitants of the border provinces of a decrepit empire ; — a one-eyed, one-eared, pock-marked, short, fat, harsh-voiced, perfidious, rapacious, and cruel monster. Backed by this inventory of graces, he had succeeded in inspiring his oppressed subjects with distrust, and reducing his pashalic to a state of disgraceful disorder. Being introduced to this dignitary by Mr. Rassam, the British Vice-Consul, himself a Chaldæan Christian and a native of Mosul, our traveller was received with Turkish civility. But, having no time to lose at Mosul, he set out, on the 8th of November, for the spot to which his thoughts had so long been directed, taking with him an ample supply of hunting weapons, to mislead the jealous Mussulmans, who, he knew, would place every obstacle in his path if they conjectured his real design. After a restless night of dreamy excitement, he proceeded, early in the morning, with six Arab workmen, to the principal mound, and satisfied himself, by his first day's work, of the existence of a building, or buildings, of considerable extent. The next day, having obtained a reinforcement of five Turcomans, he pushed his excavations still further, and brought to light other portions of the building discovered the day before. Still no sculptures had appeared. The work was, however, diligently prosecuted ; and on the 28th of November, several bass-reliefs, representing a battle, a siege, and other subjects, were uncovered ; but by no means in a perfect state, for they had been much injured by fire. Encouraged by these results, Mr. Layard carried his trenches forward, and soon discovered other valuable relics ; among them, a pair of gigantic winged bulls, and of small winged lions. Enough had been done to prove the vast importance of these investigations ; and Mr. Layard immediately acquainted Sir Stratford Canning with the progress he had made, and desired a firman, or order from the Porte, which would secure him from all interruption.

Nor was such a safeguard wholly unnecessary, for he had already been repeatedly interfered with. Indeed, the wise men of Mosul, jealous of his proceedings, — Cadi, Mufti, and all, — beset the solitary ear of their Pasha, and left no

stone unturned to thwart the enterprise. One day it was reported that the Frank was digging for buried treasure ; and the next, that he had violated the tombs of the faithful. He was more than once obliged, while the excavations were going on, to gallop across the desert to the city to answer these paltry tales. He had two amusing audiences of the amiable Cretan. His Excellency made much of the point of sacrilege, and benevolently added, " I cannot allow you to proceed ; you are my dearest and most intimate friend ; if anything happens to you, what grief should I not suffer ! your life is more valuable than old stones : besides, the responsibility would fall on my own head." How sincere were his scruples appears from the fact, that he had ordered one of his officers to make graves on the mound, in which operation the man declared that he had destroyed more real tombs of true believers, than the infidel could have polluted between the Zab and Selamiyah. The utmost favor Mr. Layard could obtain was a permission to keep a few men to guard the sculptures, which afforded a decent pretext for continuing his investigations a while longer, though on a reduced scale.

But these were not his only troubles. The province was in a most unsettled state, and bands of marauding Arabs were ranging over the desert, ready to dart upon any undefended point. We shall see by and by how skilfully Mr. Layard afterwards dealt with these dangerous neighbours. At present his best ally was one Daoud Agha, by profession a captain of the Pasha's Hytas, or irregular cavalry, and by perquisite a licensed freebooter. It was clearly in the line of his duty to keep the Ishmaelites at their proper distance,—an ethical aspect of the case doubtless somewhat illuminated by the glitter of Mr. Layard's judicious presents. At all events, whether from fidelity, gratitude, or interest, he proved a very serviceable auxiliary.

Matters now began to brighten. The people of Mosul were driven half frantic with joy by the news of the disgrace of their governor, and the temporary appointment in his stead of a young officer, Ismail Pasha, who stood in high repute for justice and moderation. Two days after, the fallen governor was found by a visitor in a leaky room. " Thus it is," said he, with the characteristic philosophy of a true Mussulman, " with God's creatures. Yesterday, all those dogs were kissing my feet ; to-day, every one and

every thing falls upon me, — even the rain !” When Mr. Layard returned, early in January, from a short visit to Baghdad, he found the new governor installed in his office, and was received with courtesy ; and the troops in the neighbourhood of Nimroud were directed to assist and protect him.

The operations at the mound of Nimroud, which for some weeks had been suspended, were resumed in the middle of January, Mr. Layard having in the mean time engaged a party of Nestorian Christians to assist him. Hitherto he had resided at Selamiyah, a village a few miles distant ; but the arrival of the new governor having restored tranquillity to the province, he ventured to establish himself at the village of Nimroud. In these arrangements he was greatly aided by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the brother of the British Vice-Consul, who took charge of the quartermaster and paymaster’s department, and soon acquired an influence over the motley group of workmen which was of incalculable benefit to Mr. Layard. The counterfeit graves were now removed, with a few others of less questionable genuineness ; but the scruples of the Arabs were quieted by the argument, that, as the bodies were not turned towards the holy city, they could not be those of the faithful. The work had hardly been resumed, when the Ulema of Mosul made a new demonstration against it ; and Mr. Layard was obliged to yield to a particular request of the Pasha, that he would suspend the excavations for the present. In the interval he made a conciliatory call on Abd-ur-rahman, the Sheikh of the Abou Salman Arabs, who were encamped in the neighbourhood. He has described the interview in his lively manner. We quote a specimen of the rude logic of the chief.

“ ‘ When that blind dog, the son of the Cretan, may curses fall upon him ! came to Mosul, I waited upon him, as it is usual for the Sheikh ; what did *he* do ? Did he give me the cloak of honor ? No ; he put me, an Arab of the tribe of Zobeide, a tribe which had fought with the Prophet, into the public stocks. For forty days my heart melted away in a damp cell, and I was exposed to every variety of torture. Look at these hairs,’ continued he, lifting up his turban ; ‘ they turned white in that time, and I must now shave my beard, a shame amongst the Arabs. I was released at last ; but how did I return to the tribe ? — a beggar, unable to kill a sheep for my guests. He took my

mares, my flocks, and my camels, as the price of my liberty. Now tell me, O Bey, in the name of God, if the Osmanlis have eaten from me and my guests, shall I not eat from them and theirs ? ” — Vol. i. p. 67.

In the middle of February, the operations were recommenced, and new discoveries soon made. Sculptured slabs continued to be found, but evidently out of their original position, and injured by fire or exposure to the air. Anxious to obtain more perfect specimens, Mr. Layard transferred his labors to another part of the mound, and at length struck on some bass-reliefs of great interest, and quite uninjured. They belonged to a building from which the slabs previously discovered had been taken. He had now brought to light the earliest palace of Nimroud.

The next morning, as he was returning from a second visit to the Sheikh, he was met by two Arabs. “Hasten, O Bey,” cried one of them, “hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true ! We have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God ”; — and with this they galloped off. The workmen had in fact uncovered an enormous human head, sculptured in full in alabaster, and in admirable preservation. It proved to be part of a winged human-headed lion, the mate of which was soon afterwards dug out. The news of the discovery of the gigantic head spread far and near. The two Arabs had borne the fame of it to their Sheikh, who came with half his tribe to see it, and with rare sagacity at once pronounced it to be one of the idols which Noah had cursed before the flood, and the work of infidel giants, taller than the tallest date-tree. One of the workmen, at the first sight of the apparition, had run off in a fright to Mosul, as fast as his legs could carry him, and told every one he met that Nimrod had appeared. This extraordinary discovery Mr. Layard celebrated by a rude feast and dance. But the Cadi and Mufti were again in the field, and he was compelled to dismiss all but two of his workmen. By the aid of these, however, he ascertained the existence of a second pair of winged lions, on which he moralizes, quoting the words of the old Hebrew prophets, Ezekiel xxii. 3, and Zephaniah ii. 13, 14.

By this time Mr. Layard's fame had spread far and wide, and he was visited by the Sheikhs of the three branches of the Jebour Arabs. With his usual prudence, he purchased

their good-will by a timely distribution of presents, and offered them the hospitalities of the three huts of which his settlement was composed ; though somewhat incommoded by their rather literal interpretation of the complimentary phrase, " My house is your house." One day he found at his quarters a Kurdish chief, who rejoiced in the complex title of Mullah Ali Effendi Bey. The renown of the Frank had reached the Effendi even in his native mountains, and he had availed himself of a summer sojourn in the plains, to pay his respects to the stranger, and drive a trade with him, — the barter to consist in an offer of protection on the one hand, and the payment of a liberal fee on the other. The negotiation, as related by Mr. Layard, was of the most amusing character. But the Kurd took nothing by his motion, as he was not enough of a neighbour to be feared, and Mr. Layard did not choose to buy troublesome visits.

While Mr. Layard was waiting for the arrival of his firman, he paid a visit, in company with a party from Mosul, to Sofuk, the King of the Desert, as he was called, who was then encamped at no great distance from Nimroud. He was the Sheikh of the great Mesopotamian tribe of Shammar, or Men without Bondage, and, by his great popularity among the Arabs, had rendered himself a formidable neighbour to the Turks. Although his influence was now on the decline, he was still a powerful chief, and Mr. Layard deemed it not amiss to secure his good-will. He also took this occasion to ride over to the ruins of Al Hather. The chapter in which these excursions are described gives an admirable picture of Arab life. We have room for only one extract.

" Sheikh Khalaf received us with hospitality ; sheep were immediately slaughtered, and we dismounted at his tent. Even his wives, amongst whom was a remarkably pretty Arab girl, came to us to gratify their curiosity by a minute examination of the Frank lady. As the intimacy, which began to spring up, was somewhat inconvenient, we directed our tents to be pitched at a distance from the encampment, by the side of a small stream. It was one of those calm and pleasant evenings, which in spring make a paradise of the desert. The breeze, bland and perfumed by the odor of flowers, came calmly over the plain. As the sun went down, countless camels and sheep wandered to the tents, and the melancholy call of the herdsmen rose above the bleating of the flocks. The Arabs led their

prancing mares to the water ; the colts, as they followed, played and rolled on the grass. I spread my carpet at a distance from the group, to enjoy uninterrupted the varied scene. Rassam, now in his element, collected around him a knot of wondering Arabs, unscrewed telescopes, exhibited various ingenious contrivances, and described the wonders of Europe, interrupted by the exclamations of incredulous surprise, which his marvellous stories elicited from the hearers. Ali Effendi and his Mussulman friends, who preferred other pleasures and more definite excitement, hid themselves in the high rushes, and handed round a small silver bowl containing fragrant ruby-colored spirits, which might have rejoiced even the heart of Hafiz. The camel-drivers and servants hurried over the lawn, tending their animals or preparing for the evening meal.

“ We had now reached the pasture-grounds of the Shammar, and Sheikh Khalaf declared that Sofuk’s tents could not be far distant. A few days before they had been pitched almost amongst the ruins of Al Hather ; but he had since left them, and it was not known where he had encamped. We started early in the morning, and took the direction pointed out by Khalaf. Our view was bounded to the east by a rising ground. When we reached its summit, we looked down upon a plain, which appeared to swarm with moving objects. We had come upon the main body of the Shammar. It would be difficult to describe the appearance of a large tribe, like that we now met, when migrating to new pastures. The scene caused in me feelings of melancholy, for it recalled many hours, perhaps unprofitably, though certainly happily spent ; and many friends, some who now sighed in captivity for the joyous freedom which those wandering hordes enjoyed ; others who had perished in its defence. We soon found ourselves in the midst of wide-spreading flocks of sheep and camels. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd. Long lines of asses and bullocks laden with black tents, huge caldrons, and variegated carpets ; aged women and men, no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of domestic furniture ; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animal’s back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side ; young girls clothed only in the close-fitting Arab shirt, which displayed rather than concealed their graceful forms ; mothers with their children on their shoulders ; boys driving flocks of lambs ; horsemen armed with their long tufted spears, scouring the plain on their fleet mares ; riders urging their dromedaries with their short hooked sticks, and leading their high-bred steeds by the halter ; colts galloping amongst the throng ; high-born ladies seated in the centre of

huge wings, which extend like those of a butterfly from each side of the camel's hump, and are no less gaudy and variegated. Such was the motley crowd though which we had to wend our way for several hours. Our appearance created a lively sensation; the women checked our horses; the horsemen assembled round us, and rode by our side; the children yelled and ran after the Franks." — Vol. I. pp. 89 – 91.

Immediately after this jaunt, Mr. Layard gave a rout at Nimroud, which continued for three days. He was honored with the presence of several Christian families from Mosul, who were joined by the French Consul and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Rassam. Never losing sight of the importance of keeping on the right side of the tribes of the desert, he issued a general invitation to all the Arabs of the district. Abd-ur-rahman came in state, and brought his wife and daughter. Kurdish musicians and jesters were hired to entertain the people, who came in considerable force. Fourteen sheep having been devoured to the last fragment, the wild Arab dance, called the debkè, followed. When the performers had exhausted themselves by their frantic vehemence, they gave place to the sword-dancers. At each hit, the tribesmen of the skilful combatant set up the war-cry, and the women raised the "tablehl," a sort of Oriental "Narraganset," which almost drives their husbands mad. The next day Abd-ur-rahman received the party at his tents, and the dances were renewed with greater vehemence than ever. The host was in raptures with the beauty of the French lady, and whispered to Mr. Layard, — "Wallah, she is the sister of the sun! what would you have more beautiful than that? Had I a thousand purses, I would give them all for such a wife. See! — her eyes are like the eyes of my mare, her hair is as bitumen, and her complexion resembles the finest Busrah dates. Any one would die for a Houri like that." These festivities made the desired impression on the Arabs. They never forgot the three glorious days.

Ismail, who held the pashalic merely *ad interim*, was now succeeded by Tahyar Pasha, a venerable specimen of a nearly bygone race, the Turkish gentleman of the old school. He at once allowed Mr. Layard to proceed with his excavations. These were conducted on a narrower scale than was to be wished, on account of the slender means at his disposal. As the summer heats came on, he struck his tents, and retreated to a recess in the banks of the river,

where his company was eagerly sought by scorpions, gnats, and sand-flies, and other blessings of a hot climate. Various specimens of sculpture were now dug out, and under one of the slabs were found sixteen copper lions, varying in length from a foot to little more than an inch. Several of the sculptures have been deposited in the British Museum. The most remarkable of them, according to Mr. Layard, is a lion-hunt, "which, from the knowledge of art displayed in the treatment and composition, the correct and effective delineation of men and animals, the spirit of the grouping, and its extraordinary preservation, is probably the finest specimen of Assyrian art in existence." As the work proceeded, several ornaments painted on plaster were discovered, which faded, however, on exposure to the air.

At last came the firman from the Grand Vizir, and Mr. Layard was now invested with full powers. But by way of episode to his main undertaking, he carried on, during a month, researches in the mound of Kouyunjik, but without much success. He then returned to Nimroud with a gang of thirty men, chiefly Arabs. In a newly opened chamber, he discovered the figures of a king and several eunuchs.

"The Arabs marvelled at these strange figures. As each head was uncovered, they showed their amazement by extravagant gestures, or exclamations of surprise. If it was a bearded man, they concluded at once that it was an idol or a Jin, and cursed or spat upon it. If an eunuch, they declared that it was the likeness of a beautiful female, and kissed or patted the cheek. They soon felt as much interest as I did in the objects discovered, and worked with renewed ardor when their curiosity was excited by the appearance of a fresh sculpture. On such occasions they would strip themselves almost naked, throw the handkerchief from their heads, and, letting their matted hair stream in the wind, rush like madmen into the trenches, and carry off the baskets of earth, shouting, at the same time, the war-cry of the tribe." — Vol. I. p. 126.

The heat had now become intolerable, and Mr. Layard, whose health began to suffer, retreated to the cellars of Mosul, — following the example of the inhabitants, who spend their summer days in these underground apartments, and the nights on the house-tops. He profited by his vicinity to Kouyunjik to renew his researches there, but only for a short time and on a small scale. His strength being somewhat restored, he returned to Nimroud in the middle of

August, and resumed his labors ; but being soon forced by the state of his health to suspend them again, he determined to visit the Ti-yari district, the home of the Nestorians of the mountains, where he would find a cooler climate.

This region lies on the upper waters of the Greater Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, which, after making a huge bend to the southeast, resumes its westerly course, and at length joins the Tigris a little below Nimroud. Mr. Layard's route was therefore to the northeast, into the heart of Assyria Proper. Two most interesting chapters are devoted to this excursion. As, however, they are only incidental to the proper subject of the book, and relate to a country and people of whom much has been written, we content ourselves with a hurried sketch. Mr. Layard took with him, besides the ordinary attendants, his invaluable coadjutor, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the Cawass Ibrahim Agha, whose fidelity he had fully proved, and a half-witted Nestorian, by way of clown, to entertain the company and amuse the natives. He had official orders from the Pasha to the Turkish authorities, and a letter to a powerful Kurdish chief, besides one from the Nestorian Patriarch to the rulers and priests of that communion. Having tarried a few hours at Khorsabad, to examine the ruins in which M. Botta had made his excavations, he passed rapidly forward to the mountains. These districts have been inhabited for centuries by the Kurds, a semi-barbarous race, with whose ancestors, under the name of Carduchi, our college boys have fought in the pages of Xenophon. They dwell partly within the Turkish, and partly within the Persian empire. But even those who are nominally subject to the Grand Seignior have been ever ready to exercise the wild freedom of which border tribes are so tenacious, — a relic of barbarism which is among the last to yield to the encroachments of civilization. But though unruly subjects, they are capable of the fanaticism of the best of Mussulmans ; and are not less likely to obey its spur because persecution is another name for plunder. Unfortunately, they have had too tempting an opportunity to display their zeal ; for there exists, among these mountains and in the plains below, the remnant of an ancient Christian race, once widely spread through the East, but now shrunk to a few poor and feeble communities, divided among themselves by sectarian strife. American missionaries have labored and died among them, in the attempt to save the

primitive sect from the proselytizing efforts of Roman emissaries. Till quite recently, the Nestorians of the mountains were, to most intents, independent. How they were so long able to withstand the fanatical hatred of the Turks, on the one hand, and the fanatical hatred of the Kurds with a savor of predatory violence, on the other, it is not easy to imagine. Possibly the Christians had caught enough of the rude ways of their enemies to be able to hold them at bay ; so that it was not till five or six years ago that the Kurds, instigated, perhaps, by the Turkish authorities, and led on by two cruel chieftains, Beder Khan Bey and Nur-Ullah Bey, waged a bloody war on the Tiyari Christians, massacred in cold blood nearly ten thousand of the people, and carried into slavery a large number of the girls and children. In most of the mountain villages through which Mr. Layard passed, he encountered poverty, wretchedness, ruin, and death. The survivors had little to entertain him with but the tale of their wrongs and woes ; and while they told it, they lay at the mercy of the ruthless horde, who spared them now only because they had ceased to be a temptation. What little the villagers had, they cheerfully set before the traveller who had the good word of the beloved head of their church. Emerging from these scenes of desolation, Mr. Layard passed into the adjoining district of Tkhoma, where, for the first time since his entrance into the mountains, he saw flocks and herds, apparently the signs of comparative prosperity. But the poor inhabitants held them by a precarious tenure. Beder Khan Bey had declared his resolution to make clean work with them, and to leave no slaves for consuls and Turks to liberate ; and he was likely to keep his word, for he had *not* sworn it upon the Koran. The people of the devoted district, anticipating their doom, had begun to conceal their church-books and other valuables. In fact, soon after Mr. Layard's return to Mosul, the storm burst upon them. Beder Khan Bey invaded the district, and massacred nearly one half of the inhabitants. Some resistance was made, and it is amazing that a mountain race, hardy by necessity, always surrounded by foes, fully warned in this instance of their danger, and fighting for their wives, their children, their homes, and their faith, should not have proved a match for assailants who had so much less at stake. Mr. Layard, indeed, is of opinion that a concerted plan of defence would have saved them. But they wanted a leader.

In these chapters we meet with many spirited sketches of Eastern life and character. Turks, Kurds, Nestorians, and Albanians pass in turn before us, and afford an apt illustration of the piebald agglomeration of races which everywhere characterizes the Turkish empire, and which would long ago have proved fatal to it, were it not for the intense *vis inertiae* of every member. The parts have not energy enough in themselves to fly asunder. Drenched in a stagnant and stupefying creed, its only literature and philosophy, this unwieldy mass slumbers on as it has done for a century. The day of the crescent has gone by, and the poppy is the only fit emblem of the Ottoman power. Mr. Layard, with his unfailing readiness and tact, makes himself at home wherever he goes. The only accident which befell him in this journey was a kick from a horse, which he received when old habits, as he says, got the better of his dignity, and he joined his companions, who had engaged in the jerid with a party of Kurds.

Mr. Layard, soon after his return to Mosul, received an invitation from the head of the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers, to attend their great periodical feast. Although in every country individuals may be found who worship this being after their own fashion, it is only in the East that the sect has been organized; and in truth they are much more respectable than one would suppose who should judge of them from the specimens to be met with nearer home. The worship of the Devil in the East seems to be, in part, of the propitiatory kind, which does not necessarily imply that peculiar affection for the object of it which is found in the West. The Yezidis have been accused, probably from their unfortunate choice of a patron, of impure mysteries and midnight orgies. Mr. Layard eagerly seized an opportunity, the first ever offered to a European, of witnessing the very ceremonies at which, if anywhere, these enormities would be practised, and of thus deciding on the truth of these charges. The feast was held at the tomb of their great saint, the Sheikh Adi. The stranger was received at Baadri with marked courtesy by Hussein Bey, the political chief of the sect, a handsome youth of eighteen.

The young chief escorted his guest to the scene of the festival, where they were met by Sheikh Nasr, the religious head of the sect, — a man of about forty years of age, of mild and pleasing manners, who welcomed Mr. Layard with unaffected cordiality. In fact, his visit seems to have been

regarded as a high compliment. Groups of pilgrims now began to gather ; and although the sect had suffered severely of late from the hostility of the Turks, who persecute the Yezidis because they are not, like the Christians and Jews, "masters of a book," yet, before the end of the feast, as many as seven thousand persons had assembled. The Yezidis never utter the name of the Devil, except by a circumlocution ; whether or not from the apprehension so current in the West, that he may be near when he is spoken of, is a question for ethnologists. So far do they carry this caution, that they substitute a synonyme for any unfortunate word which, by a similarity of sound, may suggest the unmentionable name. Mr. Layard had nearly committed a dreadful mistake.

"During the afternoon, dances were performed before the Bey and myself. They resembled the Arab Debkè and the Kurdish Tchopee. As many young men as could crowd into the small open space in front of the fountain joined in them. Others sang in chorus with the music. Every place, from which a sight could be obtained of the dancers, was occupied by curious spectators. Even the branches above our heads were bending under the clusters of boys, who had discovered, that, from them, they could get a full view of what was going on below. The manœuvres of one of these urchins gave rise to a somewhat amusing incident, which illustrates the singular superstitions of this sect. He had forced himself to the very end of a weak bough, which was immediately above me, and threatened every moment to break under the weight. As I looked up, I saw the impending danger, and made an effort, by an appeal to the chief, to avert it. 'If that young Sheit——,' I exclaimed, about to use an epithet generally given in the East to such adventurous youths ;\* I checked myself immediately ; but it was too late ; half the dreaded word had escaped. The effect was instantaneous ; a look of horror seized those who were near enough to overhear me ; it was quickly communicated to those beyond. The pleasant smile, which usually played upon the fine features of the young Bey, gave way to a serious and angry expression. I lamented that I had thus unwittingly wounded the feelings of my hosts, and was at a loss to know how I could make atonement for my indiscretion, — doubting whether an apology to the evil principle or to the chief was expected. I endeavoured, however, to make them understand, without venturing upon any observa-

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\* "The term Sheitan (equivalent to Satan) is usually applied in the East to a clever, cunning, or daring fellow."

tions which might have brought me into greater difficulties, that I regretted what had passed ; but it was some time ere the group resumed their composure, and indulged in their previous merriment." — Vol. i. pp. 237, 238.

We would gladly quote the entire description of the scene, both for its own interest, and as an excellent specimen of narrative skill. We must content ourselves with the following passage : —

"As night advanced, those who had assembled — they must now have amounted to nearly five thousand persons — lighted torches, which they carried with them as they wandered through the forest. The effect was magical ; the varied groups could be faintly distinguished through the darkness ; men hurrying to and fro ; women, with their children, seated on the house-tops ; and crowds gathering round the peddlers who exposed their wares for sale in the court-yard. Thousands of lights were reflected in the fountains and streams, glimmered amongst the foliage of the trees, and danced in the distance. As I was gazing on this extraordinary scene, the hum of human voices was suddenly hushed, and a strain, solemn and melancholy, arose from the valley. It resembled some majestic chant which years before I had listened to in the cathedral of a distant land. Music so pathetic and so sweet I had never before heard in the East. The voices of men and women were blended in harmony with the soft notes of many flutes. At measured intervals the song was broken by the loud clash of cymbals and tambourines ; and those who were without the precincts of the tomb then joined in the melody.

"I hastened to the sanctuary, and found Sheikh Nasr, surrounded by the priests, seated in the inner court. The place was lighted up by torches and lamps, which threw a soft light over the white walls of the tomb and green foliage of the arbour. The Sheikhs, in their white turbans and robes, all venerable men with long gray beards, were ranged on one side ; on the opposite, seated on the stones, were about thirty Cawals in their motley dresses of black and white, — each performing on a tambourine or a flute. Around stood the Fakirs in their dark garments ; and the women of the orders of the priesthood also arrayed in pure white. No others were admitted within the walls of the court.

"The same slow and solemn strain, occasionally varied in the melody, lasted for nearly an hour ; a part of it was called ' Makam Azerat Esau,' or the song of the Angel Jesus. It was sung by the Sheikhs, the Cawals, and the women ; and occasionally by those without. I could not catch the words ; nor could I prevail upon any of those present to repeat them to me. They were

in Arabic ; and, as few of the Yezidis can speak or pronounce that language, they were not intelligible, even to the experienced ear of Hodja Toma, who accompanied me. The tambourines, which were struck simultaneously, only interrupted at intervals the song of the priests. As the time quickened, they broke in more frequently. The chant gradually gave way to a lively melody, which, increasing in measure, was finally lost in a confusion of sounds. The tambourines were beaten with extraordinary energy ; the flutes poured forth a rapid flood of notes ; the voices were raised to their highest pitch ; the men outside joined in the cry ; whilst the women made the rocks resound with the shrill *tahlehl*. The musicians, giving way to the excitement, threw their instruments into the air, and strained their limbs into every contortion, until they fell exhausted to the ground. I never heard a more frightful yell than that which rose in the valley. It was midnight. The time and place were well suited to the occasion ; and I gazed with wonder upon the extraordinary scene around me. Thus were probably celebrated ages ago the mysterious rites of the Corybantes, when they met in some consecrated grove. I did not marvel that such wild ceremonies had given rise to those stories of unhallowed rites, and obscene mysteries, which have rendered the name of Yezidi an abomination in the East. Notwithstanding the uncontrollable excitement which appeared to prevail amongst all present, there were no indecent gestures, or unseemly ceremonies. When the musicians and singers were exhausted, the noise suddenly died away ; the various groups resumed their previous cheerfulness, and again wandered through the valley, or seated themselves under the trees." — Vol. i. pp. 241 – 243.

Mr. Layard has given a summary of the religious usages and doctrines of this sect. They recognize a 'Supreme Being, but do not appear to worship him. Satan they regard as the chief of the angelic host, now fallen, but hereafter to be restored. This accounts for their worship ; for he will one day be powerful for good, as he is now for evil. Their symbol of the Devil is a bronze or copper bird, (and the metal is not ill-chosen,) but it is not adored as an idol. When they speak of the Prince of Darkness, they call him King Peacock, or the Mighty Angel. Christ they regard as a great angel, who took the form of a man ; and they expect his second coming. They revere the Old Testament, and do not reject the New Testament or the Koran. Mohammed they look upon as a prophet. They baptize in water ; and they practise circumcision. But their worship

seems to be most nearly allied to Sabæanism. They adore the sun, and revere fire as a sacred symbol. They look to the east when they perform their solemn rites, and turn the faces of the dead in that direction. Their cleanliness is extreme ; they are passionately fond of white linen, and are given to frequent ablutions. They eat no pork, but do not abstain from wine. Polygamy they account no sin. They have a particular objection to the name of George ; whether because it suggests hostility to the dragon, we do not undertake to say. Their orders of priesthood are four, all hereditary, and open to women as well as men. These are, the Pirs or Saints, the Sheikhs, the Cawals or Preachers, and the Fakirs. The Yezidis are well disposed towards Christians, whom they regard as fellow-sufferers from the fanaticism of the Mussulmans. They seem to have made a favorable impression on Mr. Layard. In this respect he is not alone ; for both Rich and Ainsworth have spoken well of them ; and Dr. Grant evidently had hopes of them. Having witnessed all the ceremonies to which a stranger could be admitted, and received from the Sheikh a commendatory letter to the Yezidis of the Sinjar, on the western side of the river, Mr. Layard returned to Mosul.

It happened that His Excellency the Pasha undertook at this time a journey of inspection to the Sinjar ; and Mr. Layard, who wished to visit this district, placed himself under his protection. Matters, however, went wrong ; for the Yezidis had received so many hostile visits from Mosul, that they placed no confidence in the really kind intentions of the new governor, and fired upon his troops. A bloody conflict ensued. The Yezidis defended themselves for two or three days in a rocky fastness, and then slipped away at night. Our traveller was exposed on this occasion to some danger ; for on the third day the Pasha himself advanced into the gorge, and had his carpet spread on a rock. Here he sat, while the balls of the enemy were throwing dirt in his face, smoking his pipe, and talking small talk with Mr. Layard. Coffee was brought from time to time, and his pipe replenished as it became empty. They both escaped, however, without injury. This is certainly a good illustration of Prince Eugene's remark, that " opium and predestination make the Turks philosophers." Unfortunately, it is a philosophy which has two poles, — fanaticism and apathy, a frenzy and a lethargy ; the first conquered the Greek empire, and the last has con-

quered the Turkish empire. The way of reform is between these ; whether the Ottomans themselves will find it, or another race must take the sceptre from their hands and teach them, is a problem which is fast approaching its solution.

Mr. Layard found letters at Mosul, which informed him that a grant, though a scanty one, had been made to the British Museum, to carry on the researches in Assyria. He readily undertook the superintendence of them, although the amount of labor thrown upon him was immense; for he was obliged to lend a hand in every department of the work. He proceeded to organize a party of workmen. The wandering Arabs were now driven by an unusual scarcity of corn to engage in labors not altogether to their taste. He chose a number of these, taking one from each family, to remove the earth in baskets, as it was thrown out. These people brought their families with them, and made an encampment, which served as a protection from other Arabs. The digging was committed to fifty Nestorian Christians, whom he lodged in a hut upon the mound. These, with a Jacobite marble-cutter, a carpenter from Mosul, a standard-bearer of the irregular troops, the faithful Cawass Ibrahim Agha, and the factotum, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, completed his corps. He was now, indeed, the governor of a busy little village, and seems to have managed his motley people with extraordinary skill. The Arabs were divided into three gangs ; care being taken to sprinkle among them a few of a hostile tribe, who, without special commission, would be ready enough to bring intelligence of anything wrong. The excavations were recommenced on the first of November, 1846. Slabs, sculptured with bass-reliefs of great interest, continued to be found ; and even two vases, one of alabaster, and another of glass, were discovered. But a more important discovery was at hand. It was that of an obelisk of black marble, seven feet high, containing twenty small bass-reliefs, and an inscription of two hundred and ten lines. This was in excellent preservation, and was got out without damage. He next found a pair of Sphinxes ; and, shortly after, an earthen sarcophagus, containing a skeleton. In one of the chambers a number of ivory ornaments were brought to light, but in such a condition that specimens of them were preserved with the greatest difficulty. Mr. Layard himself spent hours, lying on the ground, separating them with a penknife from the rubbish by which they

were surrounded. The next important discovery was that of painted ornaments of divers colors. Then the workmen uncovered several tombs, containing clay vases and other ornaments, and sometimes skeletons. These last generally crumbled on being exposed to the air ; but two skulls were preserved. Many of the vessels were Egyptian in their form. In one of the bass-reliefs, a bucket was suspended by a rope which passed through a *pulley*. In the course of the excavations an unquestionable arched vault was found. The subjects of the sculptures were often military, though many related to the chase, and others had evidently a religious significance. Several of the gigantic figures are supposed to represent the deities of the Assyrians ; and in one case a number of warriors are seen, bearing a procession of gods. The slabs abound in inscriptions, some of which have already been turned to good account. The extent of Mr. Layard's researches, as well as the variety of the results arrived at, may be conjectured from the fact, that a list of eighty-five bass-reliefs and sculptures, which were packed off for England, is given in an Appendix to the first volume. He made the most of the funds placed at his disposal ; but was obliged to leave a large part of the mound unexplored.\*

Mr. Layard has given us a very curious picture of his last establishment at the mound of Nimroud. His administrative duties were by no means trifling. His interference was often required to settle the disputes of the Arabs among themselves ; an operation greatly furthered by the exertions of his constables, the Cawass and the standard-bearer, and the application of handcuffs, with which he had providently supplied himself. The matrimonial cases were of daily occurrence, and of difficult treatment, especially with rude husbands, who could rid themselves of their better halves by the mere utterance three times of a formula of divorce. In every case of this sort but one, the parties submitted to his decision. The Arab women boldly appealed to him for

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\* We have thrown together in this miscellaneous way results quite various in their character, and obtained under various circumstances. The tombs, for instance, being found above some of the buildings, cannot belong to the earliest Assyrian period ; if, indeed, they are to be referred to the Assyrians at all. The ivories and vases, too, point to a different epoch from the gigantic winged figures of the Assyrian gods. Some of the sculptures, indeed, differ so much from others, as to indicate, in Mr. Layard's opinion, a positive decline of art in Assyria. The palaces, as we have already hinted, cannot all have been built in the same period.

protection against the cruelty of their husbands, and not only received it, but were relieved by him of a part of the heavy work, which their lazy lords were too ready to throw upon them. Their gratitude was expressed in the strongest terms, though not without a dash of apprehension for the future. "What shall we do when you leave us, which God forbid you ever should do? Our husbands will then have their turn, and there will be nobody to help us." He kept the workmen in good humor by his kind regard to their comfort. If a peddler arrived with a donkey-load of raisins or dates, he was bought out and his cargo distributed among the laborers. Now and then a feast was made for the men, and a separate one for the women, and any Kurdish musicians, who happened to be strolling near, were enlisted for a dance, which lasted nearly till morning. It was not always easy to keep the peace between the Mussulmans and Christians. The former were too ready to lavish the usual Mohammedan epithets on the latter, and severe measures were necessary to prevent serious quarrels. We quote a few lines, which bring a striking scene before us.

"The Nestorians kept their holidays, and festivals, with as much rigor as they kept the Sunday. On these days they assembled on the mound or in the trenches; and one of the priests or deacons (for there were several amongst the workmen) repeated prayers, or led a hymn or chant. I often watched these poor creatures, as they reverentially knelt,—their heads uncovered,—under the great bulls, celebrating the praises of Him whose temples the worshippers of those frowning idols had destroyed,—whose power they had mocked. It was the triumph of truth over Paganism. Never had that triumph been more forcibly illustrated than by those, who now bowed down in the crumbling halls of the Assyrian kings."—Vol. I. p. 294.

The most amusing incident which occurred at this time was the recovery, in a very summary way, of some mats and felts, that had been stolen from a raft which Mr. Layard had sent down from Mosul. The offender proved to be the Sheikh of an Arab tribe. Mr. Layard, taking with him his two constables, and a third man specially sworn, with the infallible handcuffs, rode off one morning for the encampment of the thief. He stoutly denied the theft, though Mr. Layard had at once discovered some signs of his property. The dialogue was promptly closed by handcuffing the Sheikh, and dragging him from his tent.

"Now, my sons," said Mr. Layard, "I have found a part of that which I wanted; you must search for the rest." The Sheikh was jolted off, and entertained on the way to Nimroud with allusions to the governor's lock-up house at Mosul, and hints of the pillory and stocks. He made a full confession, and sent an Arab for the property; next morning, it appeared. This affair, reported as it was with horrible additions, put an end to all trouble from the tribes.

Mr. Layard was unwilling to leave Assyria till he had made some excavations in the mounds of Kalah Shergat, some thirty or forty miles lower down the river, and on the other bank. These ruins he had visited with Mr. Ainsworth some years before. He put his workmen under the protection of a friendly tribe of Arabs. But the removal of these uncertain auxiliaries rendered the situation of his men so insecure, that he was obliged to withdraw them, after a very imperfect exploration. The chief discovery was that of a sitting statue of black basalt, which is of great interest, notwithstanding the loss of its head and hands, as being the only specimen yet found of an Assyrian figure which had been wrought in entire sculpture.

Nothing now remained but to remove the sculptures which were to be sent to England, and to bury those which must be left behind. But this was by no means an easy task. Mr. Layard was far to the eastward of the meridian of practical mechanics. A derrick was not to be dreamed of; and but for two or three relics of the Euphrates expedition, in the form of jack-screws and blocks, the case would have been a critical one. The mats and felts came into play; and a hawser of palm fibres was brought from Baghdad. A carpenter was sent to the mountains to fell a mulberry-tree, and a stout cart was constructed and set upon two iron axles left by M. Botta. This cart became the town-talk of Mosul; and when it left the place, all business was suspended, and the population turned out to see it cross the bridge. No time was to be lost; for the drought was terrible, and the plundering propensities of the desert tribes increased in the exact ratio of the danger of starvation, — a danger which the wisdom of the rulers of the land had taken pains to aggravate by a tax on the rude watering-machines of the Arabs. Even an Arab will rather work than starve; and Mr. Layard was able to bring into the field a corps of four companies, and a number of Nestorians. Out of the thir-

teen pairs of gigantic sculptures which had been discovered, a winged bull and lion were selected for removal, and the slabs were sawed away at the back to lessen their weight. The bull was first attempted. Mr. Layard took his station on the mound, and Abd-ur-rahman stood by as an invited spectator. The bull began to move, the Kurds struck up their pipes, the Arabs their war-cry, and the women the *tahlehl*. The rope strained and broke; but the bull came to the ground unhurt. The excitement was now uncontrollable. Abd-ur-rahman threw off his cloak and led off the *debkè*. When they had danced themselves weary, the work was resumed and great progress made. At sunset the workmen were dismissed, and marched off with a band of music to the village. The night was a sleepless one; feasting and dancing being kept up till dawn. In the morning, singing and capering still, they started for the mound. The bull was lowered into the cart, and buffaloes were harnessed in. But the beasts would not draw, and the workmen, Christians, Arabs, and all, took their place. A procession was formed, Mr. Layard with the standard-bearer being at the head. Then came the pipers, playing with might and main; then the cart, dragged by three hundred men, screeching at the top of their voices; and lastly, the women, *tahlehl*ing still. Escort duty was performed by Abd-ur-rahman's cavalry. For a while the pageant advanced bravely, till one of the cart-wheels stuck in a hole, which defied the tugs and yells of the Arabs. The bull was forced to bivouac for that night in the desert. But the next day he was fairly landed on the banks of the river; and the enterprise was closed with another uproarious night. The lion now took his turn, and was transported to the river's edge with the same mad merriment as his predecessor. It was now necessary to find a raftman, who would take the precious load down the river to Busrah. Several sculptures had already been sent to Baghdad on rafts, buoyed up with inflated skins. Further than Baghdad an Eastern raftman never ventured to go; for the reason, unanswerable in Oriental logic, that neither he nor his fathers had ever done so, though the current was less obstructed below than above Baghdad. Nobody at Mosul would undertake a voyage of such Argonautic peril, either for love or money. An insolvent debtor of Baghdad was induced by the impending horrors of a prison to take the contract; and, having received a lesson or

two in his own art, moored his raft at the appointed place. Mr. Layard's Arab workmen seized this occasion to strike for higher wages ; but they little knew the man they had to deal with, for in a trice he despatched a messenger to our friend Abd-ur-rahman, who furnished him with men from his own tribe. The monsters slid down without murmur to the raft which was to transport them into perpetual exile from the land where they had been worshipped as gods, centuries before the native island of the intruder who had torn them from their temples was thought worthy to be the abode of civilized man.

Mr. Layard now proceeded to bury the sculptures which were left behind, and to dismantle his house at Nimroud. The Arabs struck their tents, and the mound was abandoned to its wonted desolation. Before leaving Assyria, he renewed his excavations at Kouyunjik, and discovered a palace, with several interesting bass-reliefs. These relate to important national events, and, from various circumstances, are supposed to celebrate the conquest of Tyre or Sidon. Before his departure, he gave a farewell feast to his workmen, which was characterized by the usual amount of boisterous excitement. On the 24th of June, he left Mosul, under an escort of irregular cavalry furnished by the Pasha. But Mr. Layard must take his own leave.

" Mr. and Mrs. Rassam, all the European residents, and many of the principal Christian gentlemen of Mosul, rode out with me to some distance from the town. On the opposite side of the river, at the foot of the bridge, were the ladies who had assembled to bid me farewell. Beyond them were the wives and daughters of my workmen, who clung to my horse, many of them shedding tears as they kissed my hand. The greater part of the Arabs insisted upon walking as far as Tel Kef with me. In this village supper had been prepared for the party. Old Gouriel, the Kiayah, still rejoicing in his drunken leer, was there to receive us. We sat on the house-top till midnight. The horses were then loaded and saddled. I bid a last farewell to my Arabs, and started on the first stage of our long journey to Constantinople." — Vol. II. p. 119.

We have thus endeavoured to present an abstract of this entertaining book of travels. But Mr. Layard is more than a mere traveller. He is not one of those who collect materials for others to appreciate and digest ; he is a man of study as well as action, and has devoted much time and thought to

the classification and exposition of the valuable fruits of his diligence and courage. The second part of his work, which treats of the history and antiquities of the Assyrians, is a monument of his scholarship and zeal. It opens a new and ample field for philological and Biblical research, and will serve as an excellent companion to his elaborate and costly portfolio of the "*Monuments of the Assyrians*," which has just appeared in London. We shall not attempt to review or analyze the treatise before us; that task belongs to abler hands. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the singular and almost romantic circumstances attending the resuscitation of one of the primeval cities of the East, after it had been despaired of for centuries. Our readers will do that for themselves. In order, however, not to pass entirely over what must seem to many the most curious portion of the work, we hazard a few remarks upon it.

It is evident that the time has not yet arrived for a just estimation of the value of these researches. In kind, they bear much resemblance to those which have been so successfully prosecuted in Egypt and Etruria; but in amount they necessarily fall short of them. In fact, the ground is but just broken. Our acquaintance with Assyrian history has heretofore been of the most meagre description. A chief and sure guide was the Bible; but there Assyria, of course, appears only incidentally, and in connection with Jewish history. The legends of Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, with some scanty notices by Greek historians, filled up the narrow circle of our knowledge. That the discoveries of M. Botta and Mr. Layard have added materially to the number of historical events within our cognizance cannot, perhaps, in the present state of ignorance respecting the arrow-headed character, be asserted; and yet they have thrown great light on Assyrian history by illustrating and confirming the notices, Biblical and classical, which we already possessed, and, what is of more moment, by giving an air of reality to the whole subject, and opening a channel for further inquiry. They have enriched the annals of art with a new chapter; they have thrown open the palace-temples of the Assyrian kings, and disclosed many features of the political and religious life of those monarchs. They have multiplied the number of inscriptions, and thus given a promise of rich additions to the history of Assyria, when greater progress shall have been made in deciphering the

almost unknown character in which they are written. But we must not expect too much from these investigations. Even if scholars should one day become as familiar with Assyrian as they have become with Egyptian antiquities, it would be absurd to compare such an acquaintance with the fruitful and liberal intimacy which has been for ages cherished with the remains of Greece and Rome. A whole province of Herculaneums, with inscriptions enough to keep an army of Gruters at work, would never atone for the want of poets, orators, and historians. Assyria, Egypt, and Etruria come equally under the doom that befalls every form of civilization which has not recorded itself in a living literature. Not only do its institutions perish, but its memory in great part perishes also. *Quia carent vate sacro.* To prove that Mr. Layard has brought to the philosophy of his subject the same enterprise and skill which marked his active labors, we need only quote his summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the genealogical and other evidence furnished by the palaces which he has disinterred.

“In conclusion, it may appear from the preceding remarks, —

“1st. That there are buildings in Assyria which so far differ in their sculptures, in their mythological and sacred symbols, and in the character and language of their inscriptions, as to lead to the inference that there were at least two distinct periods of Assyrian history. We may moreover conclude, that either the people inhabiting the country at those distinct periods were of different races, or of different branches of the same race; or that, by intermixture with foreigners, perhaps Egyptians, great changes had taken place in their language, religion, and customs, between the building of the first palace of Nimroud, and that of the edifices at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik.

“2d. That the names of the kings on the monuments show a lapse even of some centuries between the foundation of the most ancient and most recent of these edifices.

“3d. That from the symbols introduced into the sculptures of the second Assyrian period, and from the Egyptian character of the small objects found in the earth, above the ruins of the buildings of the *oldest* period, there was a close connection with Egypt, either by conquest or friendly intercourse, between the time of the erection of the earliest and latest palaces; and that the monuments of Egypt, the names of kings in certain Egyptian dynasties, the ivories from Nimroud, the introduction of several Assyrian divinities into the Egyptian Pantheon, and other evidence, point to the fourteenth century as the probable time of the

commencement, and the ninth as the period of the termination, of that intercourse.

"4th. That the earlier palaces of Nimroud were already in ruins, and buried before the foundation of the later; and that it is probable they may have been thus destroyed about the time of the fourteenth Egyptian dynasty.

"5th. That the existence of two distinct dynasties in Assyria, and the foundation, about two thousand years before Christ, of an Assyrian monarchy, may be inferred from the testimony of the most ancient authors; and is in accordance with the evidence of Scripture, and of Egyptian monuments." — Vol. II. pp. 184, 185.

Mr. Layard discusses the question of the site and size of ancient Nineveh. He inclines to the belief, that Nimroud was the original site; that edifices were afterwards raised at Khorsabad, Karamles, and Kouyunjik, and again at Nimroud. The four mounds which mark these sites form the corners of a quadrangle, whose periphery corresponds pretty well with the 480 stadia, or 60 miles, of Strabo, and allows sufficient space for "the exceeding great city of three days' journey," mentioned in the book of Jonah; taking twenty miles for a day's journey, which is the usual allowance in that region. He rejects the supposition that Larissa, or Nimroud, is identical with the Resen of the book of Genesis. The ruins, in his opinion, show that the city attained its greatest extent in the time of the kings of the second dynasty, who are the kings mentioned in Scripture.

The remains of Assyrian architecture are confined almost entirely to the interior of the palaces, scarcely a trace of the exterior being left. We quote Mr. Layard's description of one of these palaces.

"The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colors. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes repre-

sented. Above the sculptures were painted other events, — the king, attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were inclosed in colored borders, of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal figure of the king in adoration before the supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup. He was attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes, and those of his followers, were adorned with groups of figures, animals, and flowers, all painted with brilliant colors.

“The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were processions of colossal figures, — armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests, or presiding divinities, standing before the sacred trees.

“The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the wood-work. Square openings in the ceilings of the chambers admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an Eastern sky, inclosed in a frame on which were painted, in vivid colors, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.

“These edifices, as it has been shown, were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire. He who entered them might thus read the history, and learn the glory and triumphs, of the nation. They served, at the same time, to bring continually to the remembrance of those

who assembled within them on festive occasions, or for the celebration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods." \* — Vol. II. pp. 207 – 209.

Of the style of art displayed in the reliefs sculptured on the palace-walls, and of the numerous points of detail which they reveal or illustrate in Assyrian life and manners, though an interesting subject, we have no room to speak. We have already observed that more than one style is apparent. A primitive and bolder (though not inaccurate) type appears to have been superseded, in the later edifices, by a more smoothly finished, but less original, character of design. A religious meaning is clearly distinguishable in many of the figures and scenes. The uncouth combination of incongruous forms, as in the winged human-headed bull, and the figure of a human body with an eagle's head and wings, remind the reader of the barbaric period of the Greek mythology, when gorgons, griffins, and chimæras had not given place to a milder type of art.

One of the chief merits of Mr. Layard's inquiry is his judicious habit of frequent Scriptural quotation and illustration. His citations, however, are so interwoven with his text, that it is difficult to give specimens of them here. The following passage will show the spirit in which he comments upon the Scriptures. He has been speaking of the colors found on the walls.

"The passage in Ezekiel describing the interior of the Assyrian palaces so completely corresponds with, and illustrates, the monuments of Nimroud and Khorsabad, that it deserves particular notice in this place. The prophet, in typifying the corruptions which had crept into the religious systems of the Jews, and the idolatrous practices borrowed from nations with whom they had been brought into contact, thus illustrates the influence of the Assyrians. 'She saw men portrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity.' [Ch. xxiii. 14, 15.] Ezekiel, it will be remembered, prophesied on the banks of the

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\* We have omitted several learned notes in this extract, for want of space. We must add, that Mr. Layard thinks he has found among these remains the prototype of the Greek Ionic order.

Chebar, a river which, whether it can be identified with the Khabour of the Arabs (the Chaboras of the Greeks), flowing through the plains of Mesopotamia, and falling into the Euphrates near Karkemish (Circesium), or with another of the same name rising in the mountains of Kurdistan, and joining the Tigris above Mosul, was certainly in the immediate vicinity of Nineveh. In the passage quoted, the prophet is referring to a period previous to the final destruction of the Assyrian capital, an event which he most probably witnessed, as the date usually assigned to his prophecies is 593 before Christ, only thirteen years after the Medo-Babylonian conquest. There can scarcely be a doubt that he had seen the objects which he describes, — the figures sculptured upon the wall, and painted. The prevalence of a red color, shown by the Khorsaban remains, and the elaborate and highly ornamented head-dress of the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik kings, are evidently indicated. The evidence thus afforded of the existence of these monuments before the fall of Nineveh, taken in connection with the prophet's subsequent description of the complete overthrow and destruction of the city, [Ch. xxxi.] is a convincing proof, were any required, that the edifices described in the previous pages must be referred to a period preceding the Persian invasion." — Vol. II. pp. 239 – 241.

We add the following, taken almost at random : —

"In a bass-relief, captives are led before the king by a rope fastened to rings passed through the lip and nose. This sculpture illustrates the passage in 2 Kings xix. 28: 'I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips.'" — Vol. II. p. 288.

"The heads of the slain were generally collected and brought either to the king or to an officer, who took account of their number. When Ahab's seventy sons were killed, their heads were cut off, and brought in baskets to Jezreel. They were afterwards 'laid in two heaps at the entering in of the gate.' (2 Kings x. 8.) The Egyptians generally counted by hands." — Vol. II. p. 288.

The last passage is curiously illustrated by a sculpture from Kouyunjik, in which scribes appear to be writing down on a roll, probably of leather, the number of the heads of the slain, which are thrown at their feet. H. W. T.

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## ART. II.—RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE.\*

IN proposing to devote a few pages to the subject of religion in France, we are not blind to the difficulties of the task, nor to the need of cautious, as well as of modest, judgment. What different opinions would be expressed on the question, What is the state of religion in America? by those who have passed their lives in this country, and who have had far more abundant means of judging correctly than a foreigner, writing of any land after some two or three years' residence in it, can have!

We would first make a few remarks on the actual condition of French Roman Catholicism. France is still a Roman Catholic country. The extent to which this remark is true is not, we think, generally understood by Protestants. The Roman Catholic Church not only exists, but it wields a greater influence, and has more vitality, than those seem to suppose who speak of France as of "a land where the old religion has died out." It comprehends, including the see of Algiers, fifteen archbishoprics, and sixty-six bishoprics. The dignitaries who fill these offices are nominated by the head of the French government. Since the revolution of 1830, all connection between the Roman Catholic Church and the state has ceased, except so far as its ministers, in common with those of the Protestant churches, receive small stipends from government. The number of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics is computed at about forty thousand. This estimate includes, we presume, the inmates of monasteries, as well as the active members of the priesthood.

Nothing surprised us so much, on revisiting Paris after an interval of ten years, as the increased attendance at the Roman Catholic churches. Many of the largest of them

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\* 1. *L'Ami de la Religion*. [Roman Catholic.] 1848-49. Paris.

2. *Troisième Rapport de la Société Évangélique de France*. Paris. 1848.

3. *L'Annaliste*. Paris. 1849.

4. *Christian Union*. New York. Articles on France.

5. *Lettres Methodistes*, par LUD. DAVERN, Docteur en Theologie. Paris. 1833.

6. *A Voice from the Alps: or a Brief Account of the Evangelical Societies of Paris and Geneva, &c.* Edited by the REV. E. BICKERSTETH. London. 1838. 16mo. pp. 178.

(and the Madeleine and St. Roch each holds from six to seven thousand people) are now crowded every Sunday, which were then comparatively empty. In the rural districts, this is even more strikingly the case than in Paris.

Again, in no Catholic country is there so much of the missionary spirit as in France. To say nothing of the great central society at Lyons, (the idea of which was suggested by a poor woman of that city,) the large funds of which are derived from subscriptions of two cents per week, raised throughout the whole Catholic world, and spent, we believe, exclusively in "evangelizing" Protestant countries, about three fourths of the Roman Catholic missionaries in heathen lands are Frenchmen. In the East, the scene of the missionary triumphs of their fellow-countryman, Xavier, they are especially numerous. The fourteen Roman Catholic bishops in China are all natives of France. The records of early Jesuit enterprise exhibit nothing more heroic or thrilling in narrative, than do some of the reports of these devoted men, now laboring, and not seldom suffering martyrdom, in China, New Holland, and the islands of the Indian Ocean. In a land which is foremost among the Catholic states for its missionary zeal, the spirit of the ancient religion can hardly be said to have entirely died out.

A similar inference is suggested by even a very rapid glance at the numerous charitable enterprises which have directly their origin in the Roman Catholic Church. We should like to dwell on this, the most agreeable aspect of Catholicism in France, as it is of that system everywhere else. We can only, however, refer to these institutions very briefly. Among them is the order of the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, established in 1679, by the Abbé Jean Baptiste de la Salle. As its name indicates, the main object of its foundation was to enforce the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. This, nevertheless, has not been deemed incompatible with another; namely, the giving of instruction in the ordinary branches of elementary knowledge to immense numbers of the lowest classes. In 1829, there were eighteen hundred brothers (the great majority then, as now, being laymen) of this order, who gave instruction to fifty-two thousand scholars. Soon after the revolution of 1830, evening schools for the poor, adults as well as children, were established. At the present time, throughout France, there are 164,743 persons who receive instruction at these evening and day schools.

In Paris, there are thirty-two infant-schools, six for adults and one for apprentices, attended by eight thousand children and two thousand adults, generally of the working classes.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul is another beautiful offspring of French Catholicism. It is composed of pious young persons, who, in the language of its constitution, "are willing to consecrate some hours every week to doing good," who are disposed to visit the poor, to relieve their sufferings, procure places for the children, work for adults, &c.,—in short, with an aim similar to that of our "ministry at large." This society, too, is very extensive. Its branches exist in one hundred and two towns and villages in the country. In Paris alone, it has 1177 active members, affords annually aid to more than three thousand families, and has the friendly oversight (*patrone*) of some fifteen hundred children, who are at school and elsewhere at its expense.

Another establishment, the *Maison des Ouvriers*, also under ecclesiastical patronage, has for its object the procuring of employment for workmen. To show the extent of its operations, we need only say that sixty thousand persons have partaken of its benefits in one year.

In addition to the Sisters of Charity, there are several large associations of females, who, under the names of "*Sœurs Augustines*," "*Sœurs de Sainte Marie*," &c., perform precisely the same offices as these, in the hospitals and at private houses. The *Société de St. François de Régis* was founded in 1826, in view of the fact that one third of the births at Paris were illegitimate, and with the object of encouraging marriage, and putting an end to concubinage, among the poorer classes especially. Since its foundation, up to 1847, it claims to have produced these good effects in 30,926 cases. During the last year it was instrumental in obtaining the passage of a law lessening very much the fees to be paid for certificates, registering, &c., which before were quite burdensome to the poor.

The convents in France are not, as they are sometimes called, "receptacles for idle people." Most of them are boarding-schools for girls. Some receive young orphan-girls daily, to whom the inmates teach needle-work and other useful occupations. Others have connected with them asylums for penitent females, or else rooms which are furnished to

young women from the country seeking employment in the city. Five convents, "among others," are mentioned, where there are workshops for poor women.

It would be easy to continue the catalogue of charitable institutions which may be said to be under the direct patronage of the priesthood. Those who affirm that the only signs of the influence of the Catholic Church, even in Paris, are the splendor of its worship and a cold respect paid to its administrations, are hardly aware, we apprehend, of the extent of the beneficent influences which have their main source in what seems to them so empty and formal. We have said that public worship on Sunday is well attended; we may add, that the ceremonial of the Catholic Church in France is rich and splendid. Nowhere does one see the peculiar rites of Catholicism under more imposing outward aspects. Still, from what has been remarked on these and other points, we should not infer that therefore there is much ground for the sanguine expectations of triumph or progress which zealous members of this Church entertain. The contrast between an Italian and a French congregation, as respects seriousness and engagedness, is most striking. What, however, is more significant than this is the fact, about which there is no dispute, that in France the number of those who attend the confessional is very small compared to those who go to mass. On one occasion, indeed, when Ravagnan preached, three thousand persons partook of the communion, and the efforts of a society founded with the aim of inducing people to go to confession have had some success. Still, the hold of the Church upon its nominal members, so far as aught beyond attendance at its Sunday services is concerned, would seem slight, compared with what it is either in Italy, in Ireland, or in Germany. Again, very little can be said in praise of the Catholic preaching, generally speaking, that one hears in France. The Catholic Church, since the days of Fénelon, Bossuet, and Massillon, has produced but few great preachers. It is only till lately that men of any eminence have occupied her pulpits. The Abbé de la Mennais (now, however, forbidden to preach, his doctrines being condemned by Papal authority) drew very large audiences, on whom he made the impression of true eloquence. The same is in a measure true of Ravagnan, a Jesuit, — though perhaps he excels more in argument and clear logical statement than in the higher displays of oratory; and especially

of Lacordaire, the great preacher of the Dominican order, the announcement of one of whose *Notre Dame conferences* (not sermons) will fill the vast cathedral to its utmost capacity hours before the service. One cannot listen to his peculiar, shrill tones for a few minutes, or even look on his most strikingly intellectual face, of a type oftener seen in Catholic than Protestant countries, — where high-toned spirituality seems joined with the keenest worldly sagacity, not to say cunning, — where apostolic gentleness appears to dwell with something sterner and fiercer than apostolic firmness and decision, — especially when he sees those thin lips compressed and that brightest of all small black eyes flash, when the words *Protestant* or *Protestantisme* are used, — one can hardly hear for a few minutes, or even look on that pale, thin face, without feeling, that, if the work be possible to reconcile the spirit which moves Young France with the spirit of Catholicism, — the Catholicism of past ages, of France of the olden time, — that he of all others will be the man who will be able to do this. He thinks he can, — and so apparently do those large groups of students from the Quartier Latin, who seem hardly able to repress the impulse to break out into rapturous applause, as, after an eloquent apostrophe to France or to the Church of the Middle Ages, he adds, — “But this is a commonplace, and, by the grace of God, we have a horror of commonplaces.”\* None question, however, the wonderful genius and power of the Dominican, while all likewise admit that he stands almost alone as a powerful preacher. Though he and Ravaignan perhaps may be classed among the pulpit orators of the nineteenth century, the common standard of Catholic preaching throughout France is of a very ordinary description. Nor, further, is it what may be properly styled Catholic. This latter point has been so well illustrated by the Rev. M. Coquerel, that we will offer to our readers a translation of a short passage from his Letter to M. Guizot : —

“The clergy themselves have much to do with my Protestant hopes. . . . Their preaching, generally speaking, has little of the Catholic element. Visit the churches of the capital. You will hear discourses against infidelity, against materialism, against anarchy of opinion, the over-boldness of systems, dis-

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\* According to Turnbull, he used these very words on one occasion. See “Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland.”

courses in favor of authority and infallibility, upon the good effect which Catholicism has had upon civilization, science, philosophy, even liberty, — discourses against Protestantism. But of good frank sermons, well filled with Catholic dogmas, — how many of these are preached in a year in Paris? Even the celebrated *conferences* of *Notre Dame*, — are not these rather the ingenious dissertations of a rhetorician, who embellishes, and not infrequently evades, great questions, than the instructions in a positive form of an infallible church, sending forth anathemas against error, a sanction to the truth, and to the souls of the hearers eternal safety or perdition? In one word, it seems to me, Sir, that Catholicism is not entirely Catholic in the pulpit; and I think the reason of this is, that the congregation is always a little Protestant.”

Other reasons for believing that Catholicism is not destined to very extensive future influence, growing out of the progress of intelligence and liberal principles, will be referred to farther on.

The Protestants of France are designated in the acts of government as *Calvinistes*. The internal constitution of their churches has been so fully pointed out in former pages of this journal,\* that we must refer our readers to them for information upon this point. They are divided into two communions; — *les Réformés*, having four hundred and eighty-six preachers, and *les Luthériens*, or *Évangéliques de la Confession d'Augsburg*, having two hundred and forty-five preachers; in all, seven hundred and thirty-one. The terms Reformed Church, Lutherans, and Church of the Augsburg Confession, do not, however, give a clew to the theological opinions of French Protestants. Many are classed under all these names who are Unitarians or Arians. Indeed, these latter are in the majority. We have been assured by ministers of both parties, that hardly one fifth of the preachers could be styled believers in the Trinity, or, as one of our informants expressed it, *Evangelical* (that is, in the sectarian sense of the word) in any respect as regards doctrine.

All the ministers receive stipends from government, the deficiency in their means of support being supplied by their parishioners, or the consistories to which they belong. Nine preachers (at Paris) receive 3,000 francs per year each; sixty-five receive 2,000 each; one hundred and four, 1,800;

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\* See Christian Examiner for November, 1844.

five hundred and forty-nine, 1,500 ; and a few others from 700 to 750, per year.

Twenty religious periodicals (in 1848) were devoted to the interests of Protestantism. Since the Revolution, three or four of these have been given up. Some of the religious benevolent associations are in the receipt of considerable sums yearly. The Protestant Bible Society, in 1847, received 87,257 francs ; the Missionary Society, in 1847, 102,510 ; in 1848, 120,000. Of the three collegiate institutions where Protestant ministers are educated, Geneva and Strasburg are under liberal, and Montauban is under Calvinistic influences. Geneva is now the favorite seminary for liberal theological education. At Strasburg, according to its catalogue of last year, there graduated in 1847 twenty-four young preachers, leaving behind thirty-four, pursuing their theological studies ; while at Montauban seven obtained their certificates of being qualified (*d'aptitude*), eleven remaining who had passed their third examination. The number of students pursuing preparatory studies is about the same in both institutions, i. e. twenty-eight and thirty. We have not been able to find a catalogue of the Genevan school. It is larger, we believe, than either of the others.

In May, 1848, a meeting was held at Paris, which is destined to have a most important influence upon French Protestantism. We allude to that of the delegates from the Reformed churches which are supported by the state, their object being to take measures for the preparation of an ecclesiastical constitution for the national Protestant Church. This gave rise to a great deal of animated discussion. Several of the orthodox party attacked the old system of ecclesiastical government, on these three grounds : — first, “ that the law of April, 1802, intrusts the entire government of the church, together with the choice of the minister, to *consistories*, composed only of those Protestants who pay a certain amount of taxes, or, in other words, who are wealthy ; second, there is no confession of faith ; and third, there is no discipline, the pastor being obliged to administer the Lord’s supper to all who present themselves.”

It was evident, also, that, on the part of a very small minority of delegates, there was an earnest opposition to all connection between church and state, even though that were no other than was implied in the reception, by the ministers, of pecuniary aid from government. It was on this point that

the discussion at first mainly turned. A document written by the Rev. M. Grandpierre, of the Calvinistic party, was placed in the seats of the delegates, which excited great attention. It was a very elaborate argument against the voluntary system, based, among other grounds, upon the *want of success* which had attended the experiment in the United States ! Its opinions were reëchoed by a large majority of the delegates.

The question then coming up, Who shall have a right to vote ? some members were in favor of a doctrinal test. One after another was proposed, but rejected by large majorities ; among them, the Apostles' Creed ; and finally, an article making baptism and attendance at the communion the necessary qualification. The result of the whole debate was, that the assembly decided that the only qualification should be the possession of civil rights by all persons aged twenty-one years, and " who would declare that they belong, and heartily adhere to, the Reformed Church of France." " It is to be regretted," says the Christian Union, edited by the Rev. Mr. Baird, " that so deplorable a motion, made, as it evidently was, under the influence of Socinianism, the adherents of which were in the majority, should have been warmly supported by such men as Adolphus, Monod, Grandpierre, and other Evangelical pastors."

The Rev. Frederic Monod and the Rev. M. Cambon were exceptions to his last remark ; they formally protested against this decision, and, in concert with Count Agenor de Gasparin (whom we remember, in 1840, as objecting most strenuously, in one of his publications, to the imposition of any confession of faith, though then, as now, he was an earnest Calvinist), have issued an address calling upon all true Christians to found a church that shall have no connection with the state, and resting on a distinctive Calvinistic creed. A few weeks will decide how far the experiment of a free church in France is likely to be successful.

The views of the liberal portion of the church are very fully expressed in "*L'Orthodoxie Moderne*," by A. Coquerel. A few extracts from it will give our readers a tolerably clear idea of its tenor.

" We believe that the Holy Bible, the only inspired book, contains a direct and positive revelation from the Spirit of God, a revelation which is sufficient for all wants, but that this inspiration is not in the words, and that, consequently, any wholly

literal translation of the Bible always runs the risk of making it contradict reason, conscience, history, and, above all, itself. On this basis rests our faith.

"We believe in the miracles of the Old and New Testament, after having previously examined, according to the rules of sound exegesis, if such or such a fact comes under this class.

"We believe in the prophecies, without admitting that the Old Testament is a long oracle and perpetual type of the New.

"We believe that man's salvation originated in God's mercy, and has for its means the whole of Christ's mission; that is, his word, his life, his sacrifice, his voluntary death, and his glorious resurrection.

"We believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ, as the only Son of God and the only mediator, while we reject the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, and admit that faith should stop at the limit placed by our Lord himself, when he said, 'No man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father.'"

Further on we find this language : —

"All the questions regarding the Trinity, belonging as they do to the speculative part of religion, to mere opinion, the love of God and our neighbour has nothing to do with. We are convinced that the Trinitarian symbol of Athanasius has not excited in the entire Church one single feeling of repentance, resignation, or love."

None can read the whole essay without classing its author and his adherents, as they now are classed at home and abroad, among modern Unitarians.

In respect to the spiritual condition of the Protestant community, taken as a whole, so far as outward manifestations of religious interest and vitality are concerned, it seems less favorable than we had hoped to find it. The Protestant Established Church is apparently open, at least in some degree, to the same charges of supineness and lukewarmness which commonly characterize national establishments. It is true that the assertions of the Calvinistic party on this point are to be received with great caution. "A lifeless, dead church," "a community where all are skeptical, or enemies of the Gospel," simply means, oftentimes, that those of whom this is said are not Calvinists. The same terms we can easily suppose applied to many a New England village, where we think there is a good degree of unostentatious, but sincere, and, in our sense of the word, *evangelical* piety. Still, though these reproaches are by no means true to the

extent which one might infer from reading some of the religious papers of the opposite party, we fear that there is some reason for the charges which they contain. Owing mainly to the unhappy influences, in various forms, growing out of the history of the country during the present century, we apprehend that, so far as conclusions may be drawn from the neglect of religious institutions, from non-attendance on the services of Sunday, as well as at the communion, many of the Protestant churches have but a name to live. Nor can it be denied, while we at the same time feel that these are by no means certain tests of Christian attainment, that most of the tokens of zeal and religious interest, which are exhibited by the French Protestants, proceed from the "Evangelical party."

True, in looking over all reports emanating from very zealous religionists, one meets many drawbacks upon entire confidence. Unauthorized stress is laid upon single incidents; trivial anecdotes abound; opinions are expressed having not the slightest weight unless we are acquainted with the parties. We wish to know not only the character for sound judgment of the missionary, or the colporteur, but also who and what those are upon whose testimony he asserts that the people are losing all confidence in the old system, whether Catholicism or "dead" Protestantism. We wish, too, for similar information about the "many converts" who are made to Calvinistic sentiments. The interest taken by a few persons is often transferred to a whole village, or even department. That which may have been only idle curiosity is ascribed to "intense religious interest." In fine, earnest people see what they wish to see, in perfect good faith. No one likes to confess that his labors are utterly useless. The influence of these tendencies must be allowed for in reading the reports both of the *Société Evangélique* of Paris, and the "Christian Union" of New York. And yet, nevertheless, we have examined these and other evidences of the activity of the Calvinistic party in France with much interest. Making all these reservations, it is impossible not to feel that they, though in a minority, are strong in the efficiency and resources of ardent zeal, and that they occupy, in some respects, very much the same position as Wesley and Whitefield did in England a hundred years ago. They are animated by a similar spirit, employ similar instrumentalities, and fall into similar faults. They meet some

religious wants, while they, on the other hand, undoubtedly confirm many prejudices against religion, which a less narrow system would disarm.

Calvinism is always rather belligerent. The same iron purpose, the same righteous indignation, the same admirable *drill*, which made the military saints of Cromwell's time victors on many a battle-field, are transferred to the theological battle-ground ; especially if in the one case, as in the other, churchmen be the opponents. The Romish Church has no enemies so indefatigable, so terrible, as the disciples of the stern Genevan Reformer. The scarlet robe covers nothing venerable in their view ; they will not even admit that its folds are tasteful ; they have no pleasant associations with its antiquity. It is the old cloak for abuse and iniquity ; it is time that it should be torn off ; it is red with the blood of martyrs, — of *Protestant* martyrs.

In France, the land which has witnessed the effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and where the stranger in Paris is still shown the site of the residence of a Coligny, this spirit is very strong in the ranks of Calvinism. In no connection do the earnestness and religious activity of the Calvinistic portion of the French Protestants appear so strongly as in their efforts to convert Catholics, to subvert Catholicism. It would appear that this spirit of proselytism is not shared to any considerable extent by their more liberal brethren ; certainly not, if Coquerel be regarded as an exponent of their sentiments, when, as in his "*Lettre à un Pasteur*," he says, — " My Protestant faith, I confess, takes alarm and is distressed, when I think that an imprudent frenzy of proselytism, which is *exceedingly rare among us*, should be imputed to the Protestant clergy of France, thus compromising our fair and praiseworthy reputation for tolerance and courtesy." Certain it is, that most, if not all, the movements in the way of proselyting of which we read have their origin among those of a different school from that to which M. Coquerel belongs.

A few extracts from a large mass of reports and other documents, bearing in mind the qualifications and reservations just alluded to, will convey some idea of these movements.

The Société Evangélique, having for its aim the propagation of *Evangelical* religion in France, founded in 1836, received, in 1848, 231,077 francs. It employed one hundred and thirty colporteurs and other laborers, and sustained

wholly or in part between two and three hundred churches. The Paris Tract Society, in 1848, issued over 613,000 copies of cheap publications. In the last report of this society, several cities, boroughs, and villages are cited, from which the Catholic curates have been sent away by the people, who have said, "No more Catholic priests; we wish to become Protestants." In the vicinity of the town of Sens (department of the Yonne) the pastor preaches in no less than eighteen towns and villages where "the pure Gospel" has never before been proclaimed. Another large parish, entirely Roman Catholic, in the vicinity of Brie, is referred to, almost the whole of whose inhabitants are anxious to have the Gospel preached. Seven colporteurs have been supported at Lyons, and the number of communicants at the chapel recently founded there has reached to three hundred and eighty-two.

"Last Sunday," — a fortnight after the Revolution, the "zealous laborer Charbonnez" writes, — "four neighbouring parishes have driven away their priests. In every direction we hear the same cry, — 'We will have no more of them.' In the town of Blesle the people were shouting, 'Hurrah for the Protestants! Down with the priests!'"

The names of some twenty more villages are given, where Calvinistic preachers, having been sent for, were heard gladly, though often "in gloomy barns, by the light of small lamps hung against the walls, and during seasons of the most intense cold."

It would be easy to fill several pages with the records of their doings. Nor are these always confined to proselytism from the Catholics, but to the doing good in all directions. In Paris, one of the missionaries during the past year has been able to collect some five or six hundred individuals in the quarter of St. Marceau (commonly called the Ragmen's quarter), to listen to his preaching, twice a week. "This is what we need," they frequently exclaim; "our priests never told us these things." "This is the true Christianity of Jesus Christ." Several preachers are employed among the cabmen and the young soldiers of the Garde Mobile, who, we are also told, are frequently, in the orders of the day from their general, Dunvier, addressed on the subject of God and prayer. Measures are also being taken to establish conferences or lectures on the Gospel in the Latin quarter, for the students. In a word, one can hardly find an opening

for religious instruction in any quarter or among any class of men, which is not instantly seized upon by these earnest disciples of Christ, we cannot but think, as well as of Calvin.

They have even turned the frequent chance-gatherings of the sidewalk and the street to useful account. Particularly since the Revolution, large crowds collect out of doors, to discuss political questions and hear the news. We have now before us several unpublished letters, placed at our disposal by the kindness of a highly respected orthodox clergyman of this city, in which the writer, a minister, tells of his preaching to a street audience of several hundreds of workmen of Paris, who had gradually collected around a small group where two individuals, of whom he was one, had entered into a casual conversation upon the question, Is man naturally good or naturally bad? — he maintaining the sinfulness of human nature, and, in answer to the earnest response, “Yes, you’re right, it is so,” coming from many hearers, “but what is the remedy? what shall we do?” directing them, in a discourse of some three quarters of an hour in length, to Jesus Christ. On another occasion, he addressed four thousand persons, composing the Club du Peuple, which had its meetings in an immense hall, founded under the auspices of several avowed infidels, the president being the author of an impious book called “*L’Evangile du Peuple.*” When he first arose to defend Christianity, he was received with hisses and a howl of derision; but on affirming that he was no priest, and no defender of the priesthood; he was listened to with most respectful and profound attention by his infidel audience for more than an hour, was saluted with applause, and at the close accosted by a large number, who pressed forward to grasp his hand and thank him for his discourse. No one can peruse such accounts without feeling that the Evangelical Protestants are doing a good work in many quarters, carrying Gospel truth and peace to many a sinful bosom, which, were it not for them, would have remained in outer darkness.

We will only add to this branch of our subject, that our own personal observation of the manner in which the Protestant Evangelical preachers of Paris perform their important duties has led us to form the highest opinion of them. M. Coquerel’s eloquence, his indefatigable labors as a pastor, his industry in the instruction of his younger parishioners, have been already commented upon in former pages of our

journal. We confess, though our doctrinal opinions are widely different from theirs, that we have heard the Rev. M. Monod, and particularly the Rev. M. Grandpierre, and two or three other preachers of the Evangelical class, with almost as much pleasure as we have listened to him. We heard from these orthodox gentlemen no dull, dry statements of "what we believe," and very little of Calvinism in any form ; but instead, simple, solemn, yet affectionate addresses to the heart and conscience, resting, too, on as strong appeals to the reason and understanding of the hearer, which did us good, and which would be profitable anywhere. There was something, perhaps, in the simplicity of the service, in the earnest aspect of the audience, generally of the middle classes, and in the humble appearance of the small building, outside the gate, in one of the poorest quarters of Paris, which — reminding one partly of primitive times, when, in great wicked cities like this, the apostles preached in like lowly edifices, and partly of some of our own little country churches — added to the effect, and made us think we had rarely listened to preaching, certainly not in Europe, more effective and useful.

On the question, What effects has the late Revolution had upon religion in France ? it is impossible to speak with any assurance. The state of feeling and morality which revolutions produce is never favorable, in the first instance, to the religious sentiment. We find in the periodicals of all the religious parties constant complaint, not only on this score, but of the diminished receipts of all their great benevolent societies. Some Protestant writers in these refer, in terms of exultation, to the fact that many Roman Catholic priests have been driven out of their parishes ; others not only mention reactions in favor of the Catholics in some of these very villages, but express the melancholy conviction, that the more violent revolutionists, at least, are opposed to all religion. The Catholic journals lament the prevalent license, but they do not see anything in the Revolution opposed to the interests of their church. The priests were always bitter opponents of Louis Philippe. They have shown themselves, often ostentatiously, the friends of the popular movement ; and thus far have, on the whole, been treated with great consideration by the government. No law or other action of the government has as yet changed in any essential respect the relations of Protestantism to Catholicism. The Protestants naturally

believe that their cause will gain with every impulse given to free thought ; but the Catholics are quite as sanguine. " Give French Catholics," said an intelligent priest to us, " the same laws, the same freedom, which American Catholics enjoy, and we will sweep Protestantism away."

How far are these opposite opinions in relation to the future of Catholicism and Protestantism in France based on solid grounds ? We cannot but think, notwithstanding what we deem on the part of American Protestants a disposition to underrate the attractions and the power of the Roman Catholic Church here as elsewhere, that still they are not mistaken who believe that it is not in harmony with the spirit of the age, and cannot look, therefore, for any further extensive triumphs on French soil. Guizot, in 1838, expressed the opinion, that " France will not become Protestant, but Protestantism will not perish in France." We apprehend that, in 1849, the converse of the proposition comes nearer the truth ; in other words, that there is too much in the Catholic system appealing to what is best as well as most imperfect in the human heart to allow of its ever perishing in France ; while, owing to the weak hold which it has on the respect and affections of the masses, liberalized and enlightened as they are every day becoming, there is as little hope that it will retain even its present numerical superiority. Certain it is, that even its apparent successes are acquired by a compromise with its peculiar tenets, and that Protestantism is constantly gaining from its ranks. It is sometimes thought that the simplicity of the latter is an obstacle to its prevalence in countries hitherto Catholic ; but, to say nothing of tendencies to run into opposite extremes of all kinds, men tire in religion, as in other connections, of incessant form and ceremony and show. The feelings which in England, in the days of Fox, led multitudes of the English Church to join him, belong to the human heart everywhere. The attraction of the Romish ritual to a New England mind is frequently not less strong than that of the simplicity of our worship to a Catholic. It is a striking fact, that in no part of France is Protestantism so rife as at the extreme south, where, owing to the climate and the temperament of the people, we should suppose there would be most of fondness for spectacle and pomp. Still, we have very little idea that the Calvinism of Monod, De Gasparin, &c., will command much more extensive assent

in future than it has already, notwithstanding its zeal and its success in some quarters. Calvinism in France has never been of so stern and ungenial a stamp as it has borne in New England or Scotland. National character has always modified its dogma and rule. There appears to be very little in the circumstances of the present age to counteract this influence. One can hardly conceive of things more inharmonious than the spirit of Calvinism and the national peculiarities of Frenchmen. May we not presume that Messrs. Grandpierre and others, of strictly Evangelical sentiments, understood this when they, so much to the astonishment of their friends in America, objected to the imposition of any creed?

Again, will a people who have set aside the authority of the Catholic Church be inclined to receive, simply on the ground of authority, the formula of any church? Is it not easy to conjecture that such persons will have very little of that awe which we sometimes find in New England when such words as these, "the church articles," "church censure," "church excommunication," are used?

So, too, when the Calvinists are told that such doctrines are not to be reasoned about, and that such a truth is a mystery, not to be explained but believed in, and when they call to mind the modes of argument by which the old doctrine of transubstantiation was defended, will they not begin to suspect, especially if brought under church discipline for exercising on these points the Protestant right of private judgment, that, after all, there is less difference than they had supposed between the two systems? A similar remark applies to much in the practical operations of the Evangelical system, which is in many minds, in Protestant countries especially, associated with ideas of superior earnestness and warmth. We cannot now dwell on this point. Suffice it to say, that, with every disposition to appreciate the earnestness and warmth of our Evangelical brethren, we think that a great deal which passes for these, under the form, for example, of frequent meetings, missionary zeal, undue stress laid upon certain religious observances, &c., finds its counterpart in Catholic lands, and would therefore make a very different impression on an observer there from what it produces frequently in a Protestant community. Nor would we be blind to much in the movements and modes of address of our brethren which commands our respect, when we add,

that the same sharp-sighted, thoroughly French sense of the ludicrous, which produced the "*Tartuffe*" of Molière, has given birth to an equally celebrated satire on Protestant sanctimonious pretension, namely, the "*Lettres Methodistes*." In fine, while we admit that the Evangelical party has done great good in some quarters of France, we cannot believe that their form of Protestantism is destined to prevail very extensively.

The fact, that many persons, tired of what they consider the inanities of Catholicism, should welcome the first religious system that is presented to them which has an appearance of sincerity and warmth, by no means proves that it will command their respect and affection when they shall have become more acquainted with it. The assertion, which we find in a Calvinistic journal, that, in several instances, the same villages which at first cried out, "Down with the priests!" a few weeks afterwards were heard exclaiming, "Down with the Protestants!" has great significance.

So, too, we may most cheerfully admit that Calvinism in France, as elsewhere, prompts not infrequently to noble Christian deeds, and expresses itself in Christian phrase. The same is true of Catholicism; but this is not saying that the system is adapted, in our opinion, to the popular wants, or calculated to exert a wide influence in future. Nor, further, is there much reason for fearing that a bald, unspiritual rationalism will be adopted to any great degree. So far as we can learn, what is called German rationalism has not as yet attracted much regard among French Protestants. There is, it is admitted by all writers on the subject, a growing religious sentiment throughout the whole country, a sense of the need of an earnest and positive faith. We apprehend that the same spirit which rejects narrowness and intolerance, as being too closely akin to what has been always the reproach of the ancient Catholicism of France, will have as little fellowship with that which must suggest similar reminiscences of the ancient skepticism of France, of both of which there is reason for believing the French people are becoming every year more and more weary. The character of the theology with which French Protestantism, influenced as it must always be by the genius of the people and the history of the past, will assimilate, is, we think, clearly indicated in the decision of the synod to which reference has been already made. The causes of the change which has been for some time

operating in the religious opinions of Protestants are not to be found, as our American Orthodox friends affirm, in the union between church and state which has existed in France.\* On the contrary, we apprehend that an essay, published some years ago by our own Unitarian Association, under the title of "*Causes of the Progress of Liberal Christianity in New England*," throws not a little light upon the causes of the progress of liberal principles in France. Peculiarities of national character, the progress of society, liberal views in other connections, and more especially an unwillingness to bring religious liberty under the bondage of creeds and church formulas, have asserted their influence in both countries.

The French national church must, however, shake off much of its present lethargy, if it seeks to exert a broader influence. The temperament of the people craves earnestness and warmth in religion, as in everything else. It will not be satisfied with a cold system, nor with a mere system of negations. So, too, if Frenchmen have seen in the old church enough of bigotry and narrowness and intolerance, and in the old skepticism enough of its inability to meet the wants of the soul, they have also seen, in the one, vain attempts to reconcile spirituality with unworthy concessions to fashionable worldliness and frivolity, and, in the other, as futile efforts to deify human reason and make justice and benevolence stand for the whole religion of man. France needs, as we do, a religious system which, while it believes in progress and refuses to meet no great question in theology or philosophy or social life, is reverent and humble and devout, — which shall maintain a high tone of spirituality, like that of Pascal and Fénelon, while it avoids, at the same time, the mysticism of the Port Royalists, and applies Christian ethics to the relations of family, trade, politics, to all spheres of every-day duty, — a system that shall be liberal on many points upon which most religionists, from the days of the Pharisees, have been over-strict, but on all practical questions of right and wrong, — on all questions which a tender conscience solves without halt or parley, but on which the

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\* A sermon was preached eight or ten years since in Philadelphia, by a Presbyterian clergyman, the object of which was to show that Unitarianism in New England was the offspring of Congregationalism, — a system the farthest possible removed from anything like a union of church and state.

merely respectable or even moral man has no light, having himself no light within, — on these, rigid with the most rigid, strict with the strictest. We think that such a religious system (though not, we fear, presented so fully as it should be by the great body of liberal Protestants of the national church, and perhaps never destined to be till the present union between their church and the state is dissolved) is beginning to find fitting expression in more than one living voice. Coquerel, at least, cannot be accused of being merely a cold or moral preacher, while on the other hand there do not attach to his ministrations or his doctrines aught that is repulsive in the tactics or dogmas of Calvinism.

Deep seriousness, glow, pathos, spirituality, and unction mark his preaching quite as much as strong argument. We cannot think of anything in it, unless it be the "omission" of what he would style "the great fundamental doctrines," and "not going far enough," that an Orthodox American hearer would say reminded him of defects in Unitarian preaching elsewhere, — commonly supposed to hinder its efficiency. We are very confident that the quickening influence of M. Coquerel is felt, not only among the two or three thousand hearers who every Sunday throng his church, but by the whole community of Protestants, ministers and laymen, to which he belongs. American Unitarians know, not only how comparative warmth and earnestness may take the place of what has been called, rightly or wrongfully, the characteristic coldness of a denomination, but also how much even single eminent individuals may effect in giving, in a measure, the stamp of their own peculiarities to a whole religious body.

Then, too, not unfrequently, a church is inspirited to new activity by those who secede from its ranks. The withdrawal of Whitefield and Wesley undoubtedly had an awakening effect upon the English Church. May it not be hoped that a like result, but greater in degree, may follow the efforts of the few earnest men who have recently seceded from the fold of the French national church, quickening its dormant energies, and provoking its members to imitation of the zeal and energy of which these have given them the example? When we add to these thoughts the consideration, that in France there is very little of that attachment to Calvinism which has had here, at least in part, its origin in New England tradition and history, we cannot but hope, —

though he must be presumptuous who in these days attempts to prophesy with over-confidence in respect to anything French, — we cannot but hope that the growing religious sentiment of France will assume a form with which we can sympathize in all respects, and that we shall hear from time to time, not only accounts of increasing liberality in the religious opinions of Protestants, but also of new zeal and warmth, new success in converting sinners, and in raising the tone of public sentiment and morals through the land. May it provoke us to imitation thereof, when we rejoice at the new confirmation given to our faith, that there, as here, an earnest but rational piety is competent to meet the religious wants of society and the individual. J. P.

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ART. III. — THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE, AND  
THE "COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS."\*

THE "College of the Holy Cross" is situated upon what may be called the central hill of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a gentle and slightly elevation in the rural city of Worcester. Travellers on the line of the railroad have doubtless marked from time to time the progressive increase of the structures on that hill, and those who have known their purpose have probably meditated upon what would be the amazement of the fathers of New England if they could revisit these scenes. A few years ago, a long, low, wooden edifice crowned the summit, and was the germ of the present institution. The College was founded five years since by Bishop Fenwick of Boston, at an expense of \$ 25,000. A few days before his death, he conveyed the real estate to the Trustees of the Catholic College in Georgetown, D. C., an institution incorporated by act of Congress. The expressed condition of the deed was, that the "Bishop of Boston" for the time being should always have the right of sending to the institution, without charge,

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\* *House Document, No. 130. Being the Reports of a Majority and a Minority of "The Joint Standing Committee on Education, to whom was recommended the Report on the Petition of John B. Fitzpatrick and others."* 8vo. pp. 20.

one pupil in each fifty. It is wholly under the "care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," or the Jesuits, so called, and the proprietary right is still held by Georgetown College, which is also a Jesuits' college.

A stately brick edifice, so constructed as to admit of enlargement, and to which the original structure of wood is an appurtenance, now constitutes the College, which is designed to accommodate two hundred pupils, though the present number is but one hundred and ten, twenty of whom are from this State. The expense to each pupil is \$150 a year. There are seventeen teachers.

Strict conformity with the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church is required of the pupils, who are under an instruction and discipline similar to those of like institutions abroad. They are overlooked by night and by day, at their studies, their meals, and their recreations; they must daily attend mass and three religious exercises; they must perform the duties of the confessional, and receive absolution. These conditions admit of no exception for any pupil. Pupils are received from the age of eight years and upwards. The course of study is intended to embrace eight years, and includes, besides accomplishments, moral and natural philosophy, mathematics, poetry, ancient and modern languages. There is also a theological class for the training of priests.

At the last session of our legislature, "George Fenwick, Peter Blenkinsop, Philip Sacchi, Kenneth A. Kennedy, Augustine L. McMullen, and William Logan" petitioned that they and their successors might be made a corporation by the name of "The College of the Holy Cross," to be established in the city of Worcester, with all the usual powers and privileges, the chief of which are to purchase, hold, and sell property, to sue and be sued, and to confer degrees. This petition was referred to the Joint Standing Committee of the House and Senate on Education, a majority of which reported leave to withdraw. The petition was recommitted. A full, frank, and kindly consideration of the whole matter was entertained by the committee, the petitioners being represented before them. The majority, as at first, was opposed to granting it, and so reported, through the chairman, Mr. Erastus Hopkins. A minority of three members presented a favorable report, through Mr. Charles W. Upham. A protracted discussion,

earnest, good-tempered, and very able on both sides, was held in the House, and the question was decided against the petitioners by a vote of one hundred and seventeen to eighty-four; fifty-two members being absent when the vote was taken.

A very great and a very general interest has been excited by this petition and the discussions to which it led. It is pleasant to know that no acrimonious feelings or ill-temper showed themselves, and that a calm and judicious tone was observed throughout the debates. We have read with interest the reports and the speeches, and think them worthy of examination and remark.

The first essential point on which we need to have a clear understanding is as to the nature and meaning of an act of incorporation. This legislative enactment does not call an institution into being, nor prescribe its range of action. The college which asks for incorporation exists without it, and cannot be extinguished because it is not incorporated. Chief Justice Marshall's definition of the nature and intent of incorporation is, that it "confers the attribute of individuality on a collective and changing body of men." Yet it can hardly be questioned but that the effect of an act of incorporation is to bear with it a sort of warrant or approval on the part of the State of any institution or project which it thus ratifies by its legislation and its seal. The effect is not only to individualize, but to countenance and indorse, a body of men and their object. The end contemplated in a charter is the prospect of a public benefit which shall accrue. Petitions for charters are nearly every year rejected by our legislature, because the ends and benefits contemplated are of a private, not of a public nature. The State will give its formal approbation for education in general, but will deny it to any exclusive or sectarian method of education. If the question be asked, whether the State has not already granted its sanction to colleges founded or used for exclusive and sectarian objects, the answer is, that it has not, certainly not in any terms which the State has defined in the charters of such colleges.

But the request, in the precise form which it wears in the petition before us, has been now made for the first time of our legislature. It never has come up until this year. It now takes the form of what to the Roman Catholic is a demand for conscience' sake, but of what to some

Protestants appears like a patronage of an exclusive sect. The Roman Catholic says, — ‘ I ask toleration for my religion. Now my religion requires me to make it the basis of all education. I know of no education from which the doctrines and discipline of my church shall be excluded. I cannot accept a charter like those of your Protestant colleges, which recognize religious liberty, so called. The only way in which justice can be done to me is to allow me to have a college from which Protestants shall be shut out, in order that the Catholic discipline may be enforced.’

Some Protestants object, that to grant this request would be to recognize a religious creed in legislation, and to open the way to a series of like demands, which may in the end confound legislation, and subvert civil, as well as religious liberty.

The four members who composed the majority of the joint committee offer in their report a brief statement of the origin, the purposes, and the discipline of the Roman Catholic College at Worcester, and then present the reasons why, in their opinion, the petitioners should have leave to withdraw, that is, in other words, why the “ College of the Holy Cross ” should not receive an act of incorporation. We will compress the substance of their argument, as given in the public document before us.

In a conference with the petitioners, the committee learned that any charter like those under which our other colleges exist, and which reserve to the State a power to control or direct the institutions, and to secure unrestricted public benefits from them, would not be acceptable. The petitioners frankly and honorably admitted that their college was unalterably exclusive, that strict compliance with all their religious rules, teachings, and ceremonies would be enforced on every pupil. The committee regard this intention as constituting “ the distinctive feature and the turning-point of the case.” Such exclusiveness is not allowed among the “ powers usually conferred on such institutions.” Amherst College asked originally for a charter exclusively favoring “ Orthodoxy,” and the State for a number of years refused to incorporate that institution on that basis. When at last a charter was granted, it contained the following provision :— “ And be it further enacted, that no instructor in said College shall ever be required, by the trustees, to profess any particular religious opinions, as the test of office, and no stu-

dent shall be refused admission to, or denied any of the privileges, honors, or degrees of, said College, on account of the religious opinions he may entertain."\*

To a provision like this the petitioners of course objected, nor would they allow the right of the State to appoint a portion of the trustees. They admitted, too, that if "they had the civil power, they could not exercise it otherwise than exclusively as to all religious rights." Now the State would depart most widely from her own principles if she recognized a college on such a basis. If this favoritism and patronage of the Romanists is begun in a college, it must next be extended to schools. We make all our colleges, like our schools, public. "The Papist may go to them, or the Jew," with perfect freedom of conscience.

Again, the legislature has no right to grant any charter *without the prospect of a public benefit to result plainly and promptly therefrom.* The sixth article of our Declaration of Rights says, — "No man, nor corporation or association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges distinct from those of the community, *than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public.*" To grant the petitioners a charter for their own uses, and not for the benefit of the public, would be inconsistent with this principle. In conclusion, the committee suggest that other objections might arise; as, for instance, whether the State should add a fourth college to the three which she is bound to foster and encourage, whether another is needed, and whether the institution at Worcester is of an order sufficiently elevated to be chartered as a college. The majority therefore adhere to their original decision, and report that the petitioners have leave to withdraw.

The minority report, offered by three members of the joint committee, is able and judicious, and in our opinion takes the right side. It admits that heretofore our State has truly followed out the great Protestant principle of freedom in requiring of all our colleges that they should liberally offer their advantages, without sectarian limitations, to the public. Protestantism is not shocked by the allowance of perfect freedom in religion. But the Roman Catholic con-

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\* An Act to establish a College in the Town of Amherst, Section 6. Massachusetts Special Laws, 1824.

science cannot approve that freedom. The minority therefore propose a sort of compromise. As the "College of the Holy Cross" cannot be placed on the same footing as our other colleges, it is proposed that it be incorporated as a private institution. Sectarian institutions of learning have in fact been already chartered by our legislature. Such are the institutions at Andover and Newton, and the Wilbraham "Wesleyan Academy." Our legislature cannot directly take cognizance of matters of religious opinion and conscience; but as the Catholics now form from one seventh to one tenth of our population, we may lawfully and properly grant them an institution of their own for their own uses. They are in some respects valuable citizens; it is politic to live in kindness with them. The minority therefore propose a charter under the rules of the Revised Statutes, Chapter 44, and reserving to the legislature a right of "visitation and investigation" at all times.

We have already stated the decision of the legislature, after a full and free debate, and we have implied our dissent from that decision. Of course we would speak with becoming diffidence on such a matter, especially when we presume to differ from the majority of a body of able and wise men, deserving of our high respect as our legislators, and giving evidence in their deliberations of a desire to do strict justice in a somewhat perplexing case. It is the continual marvel of many who live under different European governments, how it happens that our Commonwealth can legislate about churches and colleges and schools, and yet avoid legislating for sects and parties in religion and education. It is remarkable that thus far we have been able to pursue a course which other communities find it so difficult to begin as a substitute for sectarian legislation. That for the future we shall find ourselves at liberty to pursue the same wise and safe course, we cannot but fervently pray, nor should we have a doubt of it, were it not for the mingling of foreign elements in our own native population. With the various forms of Protestantism we have succeeded in keeping a civil peace, without oppressing or patronizing any sect. When Amherst College asked for a charter which should legalize bigotry, the petitioners designed that institution as an offset to the liberality of Harvard. But the State refused to become a party to this balancing of sectarian force.

A new issue has now been raised. The Romanist argues,

that, in legislating for Protestantism under the name of religious liberty, there is a sectarian bias in our legislation, and that he ought to be allowed the act of incorporation now asked for, in order that he may enjoy all the civil rights as a Romanist that we enjoy as Protestants. We do not feel inclined to espouse with much zeal the cause of the petitioners, or to cast censure upon the majority of the legislature. We have our own sincere, and, as we venture to believe, our deliberate, convictions upon the debasing and corrupting influences of the Roman Catholic religion. It has brought ruin upon Italy, Spain, and Ireland, the only three regions of the earth where it has had a full development in modern times. We should grieve for our beloved Commonwealth if we saw any reason to apprehend that the gross perversion of the Christian faith and life which Romanism involves would ever renew its blighting influences here. But we see not how a charter could be refused. We think that to have granted it would have been the course consistent with our own civil and religious principles, the course consistent with true charity, wisdom, and policy. The refusal of a charter betrayed a fear; it was not treating the Romanists here as we ourselves would wish to be treated in a country where they had the power. We think that the refusal was dictated by prejudice, not by enlightened conviction, and that, by rousing a spirit of resentment and zeal and proselytism among the Romanists, it will involve more injury to the best interests of Protestantism than would the granting of a dozen charters similar to that which has been denied. We apprehend, too, that the decision in the case will be only temporary, and that the petition will be renewed until it is granted.

The opponents of the charter refused it on the ground that all the pupils of the College were to be required to conform strictly to Catholic doctrine and discipline. Of course it is to be supposed, then, that none but Romanists, or those who are willing their children should be Romanists, would furnish it with pupils, though Georgetown College has pupils who enter the institution and leave it as Protestants. If the petitioners had not announced that rigid rule of their institution, they would probably have obtained a charter. But then there would have been a constant charge of proselytism raised against it. It would have been called a lure to beguile Protestants, on the plea of furnishing their children with an education. To avoid all the risk of such a charge and of the

perpetual animosities which it would enkindle, the petitioners, without the slightest disguise and in all frankness, avowed their object, took upon themselves the whole burden of a sectarian design, and sought a fair decision upon it. They asked for an act of incorporation, principally on grounds of convenience in the transaction of pecuniary business, so as to relieve tradesmen and merchants, buyers and sellers, in Worcester, of the embarrassment and delay involved in negotiations with parties so far distant as Georgetown, D. C. We can divine no good reason why the petitioners should not have the common privileges and facilities obtained by a charter for an institution which is designed for the education of their own children according to their own views. They certainly warn Protestants off their grounds as sincerely as they invite Catholics to occupy them.

In what points, after all, can we trace a difference between the incorporation of a Roman Catholic college and the incorporation of a Roman Catholic church, or temperance society, or benevolent society, for each of which our legislature has been frequently and always successfully petitioned? There are many incorporated temperance and benevolent societies among us, composed entirely of Irish Catholics, and possessed of large funds. We do not say that their ostensible objects are not their real objects, but we have reasons for believing, that, to an extent far beyond what most Protestants suspect, these societies are turned towards sectarian purposes. Each Roman Catholic church, too, throughout this State, is or may be incorporated. Are not the disciples and worshippers in all of them bound to comply strictly with Catholic doctrine and discipline? How, then, can the State deny a charter to a Catholic college, which asks for no endowment, no especial favor, which involves no wrong to Protestantism, but only utters to it a wholesome warning to strengthen its own defences and be consistent with its own principles? The children of Roman Catholic parents cannot, without that college, enjoy the privilege of an education, in equal consistency with their views of religion, which the children of Protestant parents do enjoy in our colleges.\*

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\* It was asserted by one of the speakers in the discussion in the House of Representatives, that no Roman Catholic youth could enjoy the privileges of Harvard, Amherst, or Williams College, and that, if he should be a pupil of Harvard even, he would be compelled to listen to a sermon on "The Errors of Popery," that is, to an attack on his own religion, when

Now, why should the former be denied what is allowed to the latter? We can conceive no valid reason for the distinction, and therefore it is that we incline to the side of the minority in our General Court.

We will not conceal the fact, that this expression of our free and fearless Protestant views, which would have compelled us to have granted the prayer of the petitioners, is attended with a rising of some painful feelings within us. Catholics have asked of us, and we have advocated their receiving, rights and privileges which, under a change in our mutual relations, they would never grant to us. If a body of citizens from this State were to emigrate and establish themselves in Rome, and there ask what has been asked of us, they would be refused. Indeed, the issue has been raised and so decided. A few years before the recent distractions occurred at Rome, the English residents and visitors there, whose money has for years been the chief security for the Italians against starvation, requested permission to establish a place of worship in that city. They could gratify curiosity and taste in the numerous churches where the worship was strange to them, but for devotion they wanted a service which brought with it to their hearts the associations of youth, of home, of familiarity and affection. Their request was treated as if it were in part a joke, and in part an insult. The utmost that could be gained from a friendly cardinal was an intimation, that, if a quiet upper-room should be selected outside the walls of the city, the English who should assemble there on Sunday, with liturgy and sermon, might not be molested. And there we have worshipped, grateful for the privilege, though somewhat amazed at the sight of the sentries with loaded muskets who guarded the doors. And this is the fashion after which Romanism treats Protestantism where the former has rule.

That single fact decides the question, whether the Roman Church is friendly to civil and religious liberty; and it decides the question in the negative. Where the Roman Church is in the ascendant, it extends the spiritual rule, which at first is the only prerogative it claims,

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the subject came up in its course at the Dudleian Lecture. We are happy to say that the speaker was under a mistake. There is such a pupil at Harvard, who will testify that he has not been persecuted, that he attends his own church on Sundays, and was excused from being present at the Dudleian Lecture, last May.

into the social, civil, domestic, and private relations of men and women. It forbids marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant. It interrupts the ordinary business of life by two hundred and fifty-four feast and saints' days, besides Sundays. It shackles the press, and tells not only its disciples, but Protestants who may live among them, what books they may read, and what books they shall not read. It penetrates into the secrets of household life which concern, often, others than those who go to the confessional. It interferes with the processes of civil law and the courts of justice, and, beside all these encroachments, even in its purely religious functions it interposes itself between the soul of man and God. Then, when Protestantism raises an issue with Romanism, and asks for its rights, what is the answer? The Romanist says, — "It is not inconsistent with Protestant religion and conscience to allow us our liberty, but it is inconsistent with our religion and conscience to allow Protestant liberty among us." The simple meaning of this formula is, that the Roman Catholic religion and conscience, wherever Romanism has power, requires an oppression of Protestant religion and conscience. We hope our Catholic fellow-citizens may learn here the beauty and consistency of reciprocity. But instead of their being taught that lesson by suffering here the ills of oppression and persecution, we should much prefer to have it recommended to them by a perfect and unfettered freedom.

If, in the refusal of our last legislature to incorporate the "College of the Holy Cross," the Romanists among us think they can discover illiberal and unjust feeling, let them fairly consider the aspect of the case to the descendants of old New England fathers. The oft-told story plainly shows that our fathers sought this wild, dreary region, hard and inhospitable as it was, for the sake of an everlasting riddance of Popery, with all its forms and substance. They hated it, they were absolutely and irreconcilably disgusted with it. They hoped never to see a rag nor a remnant of it on this side of the great deep. They suffered everything in their home trials, their passage, their exile, their wilderness state, and in their purchase of the best part of all religious experience, that which taught them their errors. They had an end in view in coming here, and so far the end is gained. Under their institutions, civil and religious, and as the reward of their endurance, the scenes around us have become love-

ly, — the happiest, the purest, the most attractive and prosperous, which are to be found on the face of the whole earth. And now, after the new fields are tilled and fenced, and just as the old stories of ecclesiastical oppression and superstition which our fathers used to tell with a painful knowledge of the reality have softened into romance, Rome and Babylon seem inclined to move over hither, and ask a kind reception. It is almost too much for the children of the Puritans to bear. Out from the heart of our beloved Commonwealth are now to graduate, from year to year, Jesuit priests, — the O'Briens, the O'Flahertys, and the McNamaras. Ireland and Rome together make a combination of a not very attractive character to the sons of New England sires. The Romanists must pardon the prejudice, if such it be. In the mean while, let us believe that no righteous cause will suffer because men do justly by one another.

G. E. E.

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#### ART. IV. — NARRATIVES OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.\*

AMERICA has the mournful honor of adding a new department to the literature of civilization, — the autobiographies of escaped slaves. We have placed below the titles of five narratives of this description. The subjects of two of these narratives, Douglass and Henson, we have known personally, and, apart from the internal evidence of truth which their stories afford, we have every reason to put confidence in them as men of veracity. The authors of the remaining accounts are, for anything we know to the contrary, equally trustworthy. We place these volumes

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\* 1. *Narrative of Henry Watson, a Fugitive Slave.* Written by Himself. Boston: Published by Bela Marsh. 1848. 12mo. pp. 48.

2. *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke among the Slaveholders of Kentucky.* Boston: Published by Bela Marsh. 1848. 12mo. pp. 144.

3. *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave.* Written by Himself. Boston: Published at the Antislavery Office. 1847. 12mo. pp. 110.

4. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave.* Written by Himself. Boston: Published at the Antislavery Office. 1845. 12mo. pp. 125.

5. *The Life of Josiah Henson, formerly a Slave, now an Inhabitant of Canada, as narrated by Himself.* Boston: Arthur D. Phelps. 1849. 16mo. pp. 76.

without hesitation among the most remarkable productions of the age,—remarkable as being pictures of slavery by the slave, remarkable as disclosing under a new light the mixed elements of American civilization, and not less remarkable as a vivid exhibition of the force and working of the native love of freedom in the individual mind.

There are those who fear lest the elements of poetry and romance should fade out of the tame and monotonous social life of modern times. There is no danger of it while there are any slaves left to seek for freedom, and to tell the story of their efforts to obtain it. There is that in the lives of men who have sufficient force of mind and heart to enable them to struggle up from hopeless bondage to the position of freemen, beside which the ordinary characters of romance are dull and tame. They encounter a whole Iliad of woes, not in plundering and enslaving others, but in recovering for themselves those rights of which they have been deprived from birth. Or if the Iliad should be thought not to present a parallel case, we know not where one who wished to write a modern Odyssey could find a better subject than in the adventures of a fugitive slave. What a combination of qualities and deeds and sufferings most fitted to attract human sympathy in each particular case !

A man born and bred a slave becomes so possessed by the idea of liberty, that neither fear, nor the habit of obedience, nor the hopelessness of deliverance, can stifle the irrepressible desire to be free. It grows, silently, — for he dares not utter it even to his companions, — year by year, until at length, whatever the consequences, he must obey this secret, ever-urging instinct of his soul. He has heard that far to the North there is a region where, could he but reach it, he would be free. He cannot read, he dares not ask questions, but he treasures up every floating hint as to the direction ; he hoards up the chance money he receives, for the needs of the journey which is never out of his thoughts ; as the time approaches, he hesitates on the brink of his dread enterprise, for he hears of the failure of others who have made similar attempts, and the penalties of failure are worse than death. But the unslumbering passion will not let him rest. His mind is beyond the reach of the overseer's whip, and dreams of freedom through the day in the field, and through the night in his cabin. At length he resolves to make the attempt. He starts at midnight on his perilous journey, with

no guide but the northern star. He cannot travel by day, and at night hardly ventures to enter the frequented roads. Every human being is a foe. The earth itself, retaining the print of his flying feet, like a treacherous enemy, may betray him. Behold him through dreary leagues threading the canebrake and the forest, startled at every sound lest a bloodhound should be on his track, an unknown distance before him, and the perils of a worse slavery than he has yet experienced behind. Haggard with hunger, worn out with travel, he still presses on for days, and sometimes for weeks, before he reaches the boundary which separates him from freedom. And when he has crossed it, he hardly dares to believe himself safe. He fears the sight of man. He is afraid to stop, till he has put the breadth of States between himself and bondage.

A few years after, and this same man may very likely be seen in a home of his own, gaining by his industry a comfortable subsistence, rearing his children in ways of intelligence and independence, and himself, with every year, becoming more and more of a man. Whatever may be thought of slavery, here is one who cannot fail to have our highest and warmest sympathy. The slaveholder himself will acknowledge that this man has vindicated his right to freedom.\*

One of the many unanswerable arguments which show how unfounded the assertion is that the blacks are naturally incompetent to bear the responsibilities of freedom, is derived from the fact, that in so many of them there exists this intense longing to possess it, — a sense of its value which all the appliances of slavery have not been able to crush out. Most men at the North have seen numbers of fugitive slaves. In a single town of New England with which we are acquainted, there are more than two hundred, and there cannot be less than thousands scattered through the different cities and villages; and they constitute, to say the least, as orderly, intelligent, and useful a portion of the population as the great body of foreign immigrants.

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\* The heroism of the world finds its truest response in the heart of youth. There is nothing which better illustrates the point of which we have been speaking above, than the fact, that, in the declamations and exhibitions of schoolboys, the freedom and the wrongs of Greece and Poland and Ireland are almost superseded by those of the Southern slaves. Nothing seems to have such power as descriptions of their condition to set into a flame the minds of the young. If this shows nothing else, it shows that the slave who endeavours to recover his freedom is associating with himself no small part of the romance of the time.

These biographies of fugitive slaves are calculated to exert a very wide influence on public opinion. We have always been familiar with slavery, as seen from the side of the master. These narratives show how it looks as seen from the side of the slave. They contain the *victim's* account of the working of this great institution. When one escapes from the South, and finds an opportunity of speaking and has the power to speak, it is certain that he will have attentive listeners. Not only curiosity, but a sense of justice, predisposes men to hear the testimony given by those who have suffered, and who have had few among their own number to describe their sufferings. The extent of the influence such lives must exert may be judged of, when we learn the immense circulation which has been secured for them. Of Brown's Narrative, first published in 1847, not less than eight thousand copies have been already sold. Douglass's Life, first published in 1845, has in this country alone passed through seven editions, and is, we are told, now out of print. They are scattered over the whole of the North, and all theoretical arguments for or against slavery are feeble, compared with these accounts by living men of what they personally endured when under its dominion.

These narratives are for many reasons worthy of attention. The statements they contain may be partial and prejudiced, but are not likely to be more so than are the estimates formed of slavery by those who profit from its continuance. At any rate, in forming a just judgment of this institution, it is quite as important to know what it is to Henson the slave, as what it is to McDuffie the master.

These narratives, however, do not give a full and complete view of the whole subject. There is one point of great moment, which they tend to make us forget, instead of bringing it forward into the light. We refer to the position of the antislavery men of the South. These books give the impression that the Slave States constitute one vast prison-house, of which all the whites without exception are the mere keepers, with no interest in the slaves further than they can be made subservient to the pleasure or profit of their owners. But this is far from being the case. It may not be, certainly it is not, a common feeling, but there is nowhere a more settled and bitter detestation of slavery than is sometimes met with at the South. And, strange as it may seem, so entangled is the whole subject, so complicated are the

relations and powers of the several States and of the Union, that, though the slave may find the most sympathy personally at the North, our main hope of the abolition of slavery as an institution depends on the efforts of the enemies of slavery at the South.

It is not our purpose to enter into any general discussion of this subject, but the position of the Southern friends of freedom is so little understood among us, or at any rate so little regarded, that we feel inclined to say a word in explanation of it.

Whatever ought to be done, it is, humanly speaking, certain that slavery will not be abolished throughout the whole South on one single day, or by one single act. If abolished at all, it will be first in the line of Slave States which borders upon the Free.

By whom is this work to be done? A general answer is, that its accomplishment will demand the exertions of all friends of freedom throughout the country. Any efforts made in opposition to slavery in a Christian spirit are likely to be useful, and none such can be made which will not be needed. This immense mass of evil will not be heaved from the bosom of the land, except by the strenuous exertions of all who see that it is an evil. But if the question, By whom is the work to be done? is answered more particularly, it becomes obvious that the burden and heat of the day is not to be borne by "gentlemen at ease," who make speeches in Faneuil Hall or the Tabernacle, nor by the members of our antislavery societies, nor by any persons at the North. They may contribute more or less of aid, but the work is to be done, the sacrifices to be made, the battle to be fought, by those whose homes are in the Slave States. If slavery is to be removed, it must be, at the final stage, through legislative action in those States, and over this the inhabitants of other States can have only a slight and an indirect influence.

In the Slave States there are two classes of men, approaching each other by insensible degrees, until they are blended together. The first class is composed of those who care nothing for slavery or freedom, but only for the advantages which they imagine may accrue to themselves personally from the present state of things. The other class embraces those who see that slavery is a pernicious institution, injurious to the higher interests of all who are affected by it, and who would gladly be rid of it.

Persons of the latter class desire its removal from different considerations ; — some, because it interferes with the education of the young ; some, because it paralyzes the prosperity of the State ; some, because it throws discredit on industry ; some, because of political, and some, for economical reasons ; some, because it violates their sense of justice ; some, because it is inconsistent with their religious principles ; and some, for all these reasons united. In fact, they who come to dislike slavery for one of these reasons generally become, in the end, opposed to it for all. It is an institution which does not bear discussion ; and he who has gone so far as to acknowledge its mischievousness in one point will, before long, go much farther.

Many of this class are at the present moment slaveholders, — for, strange as it may seem, there is nowhere a more bitter prejudice against abolition than among the poorer class of Southern whites, who imagine, that, if the black is emancipated, he will be raised to their level, or that they shall sink to his. Among the friends of freedom, most of them have grown up in the midst of slavery, and do not have the same moral feeling respecting it which is common at the North. They see that, where masters are kind and considerate, slavery has many alleviations. It is not all evil. They feel, too, as we do not, the obstacles in the way of its removal. But still they see that it is an evil. Their judgment is against it. They are the party on the side of freedom.

Beyond all comparison, these men occupy the most important antislavery position in the country. They are the only Abolitionists, though they themselves abhor the name, who can exert any decisive influence on the subject. All that others can do to any purpose must be done through them. Remove them from the Slave States and the abolition of slavery is deferred indefinitely. Without their hearty coöperation, all that can be done in the Free States is like reasoning against the wind.

Under even the most favorable circumstances, they have to contend against an immense dead-weight of ignorance, interest, and social prejudice. The only way in which they can accomplish anything is by leading their neighbours to think as they themselves do of slavery. It is a slow process at the best, but the only one. And this they are doing, with different degrees of earnestness and good faith, through the various channels by which one mind reaches another.

But the moment they think of the actual abolition of slavery, they feel themselves embarrassed by difficulties of the most formidable character. Even if public opinion should be with them, it is a matter of the greatest practical difficulty to decide on the manner in which such a complete revolution of the social elements shall be brought about. The great mass of whites and blacks are alike unprepared for freedom, have both grown up under the influences of slave institutions, and there is not any method of making such fundamental changes in the very constitution of society which does not involve perils and immediate evils from which a thinking man may not reasonably recoil. Beside the question of manner comes up also the question of time ; and both these questions are now widely discussed through all the frontier States, and both will have to be settled before any action takes place.

How, then, are we to regard the friends of freedom at the South ? For ourselves, we look upon them with the profoundest interest and sympathy. They compose the only class of antislavery men whose existence is absolutely vital and essential to freedom. Freedom can dispense with the efforts of others, but not with theirs.

It seems to us that the action of the Free States ought to be determined very much with a reference to its bearing on this class. Whatever can increase its numbers, or help or encourage them to more strenuous exertions, is to be done, and whatever hinders them to be avoided.

They are aided by the existence of a general antislavery feeling at the North. It serves to concentrate attention on the subject, both among the friends and foes of freedom. They gain strength from having the expressed moral judgment of the world on their side. They are aided by whatever brings before them the facts that relate to the case, and by all just and discriminating presentations of the political, economical, social, or moral bearings of slavery. They cannot fail in the end to be aided by all honest efforts on the part of the North, within constitutional limits, to maintain the rights of freedom. A just feeling on the subject at the North is important, because of the increasing intercourse between different parts of the country, by means of which new ideas and convictions are so rapidly spread over the whole land.

In this connection the influence of those who, from a dis-

like of slavery, have removed from the South to the Free States, is specially important. Great numbers of these are in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and in the newly opened regions of the Northwest. In their new homes, loyalty to the region of their birth, with which they are still connected by family ties and connections, and a sense of the frequent injustice done to slaveholders, may often cause them to defend slavery, and they may thus appear to be on the pro-slavery side.

But it is only in seeming. They are, though it may be unintentionally, among the most efficient propagators of anti-slavery ideas. They are perpetually returning to visit their friends, and, however they may appear at the North, standing again on a slave soil, they dislike the institution of slavery as much as ever. But notwithstanding this dislike, they have personal sympathies with slaveholders which secure their being listened to. They are able to speak, from a practical knowledge of both sides, of the advantages of freedom. Even their old prejudices against the blacks, by creating a common ground on which to stand, make their judgment more influential with their friends. Those at the South who wish to perpetuate slavery foolishly attempt to exclude Northern Abolitionists. Their greatest danger comes from another quarter. Were they alive to it, they would exclude by a Chinese wall, would forbid to return under the severest penalties, all their own kindred who have emigrated to a Free State.

On the other hand, those in the Slave States who are desirous of the abolition of slavery are not helped by Northern abuse. All loose, indiscriminating denunciations, all that rhetorical reviling which endeavours to make a bad and restless temper pass for righteous indignation, all those careless judgments which show either ignorance or disregard of facts, interfere with their efforts. They have to defend themselves alike against the ignorance and misjudgment of North and South. And such is the natural weakness of man, that many draw from these misjudgments an excuse for doing nothing. When they find that they are classed among men-stealers and murderers, and that the least sympathy and the bitterest denunciations come from those who profess to be the friends of the slave, but on whom none of the sacrifices of freedom are to fall, they recoil from any seeming companionship with them, and easily acquire a distaste for a cause which subjects them to such undeserved abuse.

We would not on this account have any honest and wise endeavours to promote abolition cease at the North ; we would far rather they should be increased ; but it seems to us that, in whatever is done, this class in the Slave States, which we have been describing, should be kept in mind, and that, for their sake, if for no other reason, all censorious, loose, and violent treatment of the subject should be avoided. It becomes the North, at all times and at all hazards, to be faithful to freedom ; but in doing this, it should remember the real position of the South. There is needed in this great work, not only zeal and firmness, but information, justice, kindness, truth ; and, so far as the action of the North is concerned, what is most to be dreaded will come from haste, intolerance, self-conceit, political ambition, and a philanthropy which goes far enough to be indignant, but which will not take the trouble to be just.

One of the questionable things — whether it has or has not compensating advantages we do not pretend to say — about the Free Soil party, as a party, is, we fear, its tendency to cripple the efforts of the friends of freedom in the Slave States. We have no doubt that Southern emancipationists are aided and strengthened by all discussions at the North which show the evil of extending slavery over soil now free. There are multitudes at the South who are ready to respond to all arguments for keeping those territories free, which, as yet, are not cursed by the presence of slavery. But an organized Northern party which, as such, bands itself against the South, — and especially if it become a mere political party managed by, and for the benefit of, political leaders who have given in their past lives no special pledges of regard for freedom, — must have a very different result. It arrays section against section, the North against the South, and the Southern man who is opposed to slavery feels compelled, by all those social instincts which are more powerful than our reasonings, to unite with his neighbours against what seems to them all the organized aggression of strangers.

Of the narratives at the head of this article, the first four possess no especial interest beyond what must belong to the life of almost any fugitive slave. They are records of degradation on the part of both blacks and whites, — of suffering and wrong and moral corruption. They give, doubtless, a just idea of what slavery is to the slave. But, on the other hand, while we have no reason to question the truth of par-

ticular facts respecting individuals, we have no doubt that they convey an altogether erroneous idea of the general character of the masters. The best qualities of the master are likely to appear anywhere rather than in his connection with the slave. And except it be an easy kindness, the slave is in no position to estimate aright the virtues of one who, towards himself, appears simply as a power whom he cannot resist. They stand in such utterly false relations to each other, that their whole intercourse must necessarily be vitiated, and the worst qualities of each, and these almost exclusively, must be perpetually forced on the attention of the other. But human society could not long exist were the great body of slaveholders like those whom these narratives describe.

Besides, as a matter of fact, the people of the South do not differ essentially from the people of other regions. There is among them every variety of character. There are many masters who devote themselves to what they conceive to be the welfare of their slaves,—who see and feel the enormity of the evil involved in slavery,—who strive, in their particular case, to make it as light as may be,—who regard their slaves as but a part of their family, of which they are the head, and for the welfare of the members of which they are responsible. There are many women whose lives are consecrated most laboriously to the comfort of these wretched dependents on their care. There are many persons with a native sense of justice and a spirit of kindness sufficient to overcome all the opposing influences of their position. Such are the families which the Northern traveller will commonly see ; for the same spirit which makes them kind to the slave makes them hospitable to the stranger. There is about the home of such a family a general air of comfort and order and quiet, which almost hides the evils of slavery. But it only hides ; except partially in the individual case, it does not remove them. It is like the rich vegetation of the tropics, where to the eye nothing is visible but verdure and flowers, while below is the swamp from which steam up unceasingly miasma, pestilence, and death.

But though there are frequent exceptions of this higher character, the great body of slaveholders is made up, like the men of all countries, of those who are coarse-minded, without culture, and thoughtful of little but their personal interests. And it must be remembered that the slave is the victim of the

worst qualities of these men. The slaveholder is restrained from exhibiting his worst passions in his intercourse with his white neighbours ; but this external restraint on his cupidity, his lust, his irritable or domineering temper, in great measure ceases to exist in his intercourse with the slave.

These narratives, without any such intention on the part of the writers, reveal incidentally, but very vividly, some of the necessary evils of this mournful institution. The white children, in great part, grow up uneducated ; for schools cannot be sustained in the country by the scattered population which alone slavery allows. In early years, they are exposed to acquiring the habit of indulging the domineering and selfish passions towards those weaker than themselves. Great numbers of men, ashamed to work, spend much of their time in gambling and horse-racing, and in unending talks about street-fights and party politics. The profits of their plantations depend on the large amount of work which they can extract from the slave, and on the small amount of food and clothing on which he can be made to live. Thus, without those checks which exist between the free laborer and his employer, there is a perpetual temptation to harshness and cruelty ; and there never yet was a continuous influence of this kind brought to bear on a man, which did not finally reveal itself in the character. In addition to this, so far as the white males are concerned, there is another evil which can never be passed over when slavery is spoken of, — the temptation to licentiousness. The word *marriage* among the slaves has no legal, and scarcely a moral meaning. And the result of their relations with the whites is seen written ineffaceably in the variable color of the slave population. The horror of amalgamation at the South must be a qualified one. There is far less of it than at the North. A single fact is sufficient to answer all opposing arguments or assertions. In passing through the streets of New Orleans, among the first ten children you meet, there will probably be five different colors. At the South the prejudice is not against color, but against the blacks ceasing to be a servile class.

In reading these narratives, we are forcibly struck with the peculiar hardships to which the female slave is subjected. All that should in a civilized land be her protection makes her lot doubly accursed. She suffers all that the male suffers, and in addition miseries peculiar to herself. Her condition is hopeless. There are few females who, even if

they could resolve to leave their children behind them, can ever hope to escape from bondage. The bearing of children, except for a very brief period, does not exempt them from labor in the fields, and this under the perpetual terror of the overseer's lash. If they possess any attractiveness of person, they are too often exposed to the danger of becoming doubly victims, first, to the corrupting urgencies of the white males around them, and then to the jealous dislike of the females. And in addition to all, the children whom they have borne in misery are liable to be taken from them, and sold away from their knowledge into hopeless bondage. Doubtless these evils do not appear on every plantation; but exposure to them is incident to slavery, is a part of the institution, and cannot be separated from it. And these narratives show how easily exposure passes into horrible reality.

In reading these little volumes, there is another evil of American slavery whose horrors are constantly brought before the mind. We refer to the internal slave trade. If we leave out of view the physical horrors of the Middle Passage, we believe that this internal slave trade is a system more accursed, more deserving of execration, the cause of more suffering, than the direct trade from Africa. It is a horrible phantom, making miserable the whole slave population of the South. They who are never made the victims of this traffic, who live and die on the same plantation, know that, at any moment, — sometimes from the selfishness of avaricious masters, sometimes from the misfortunes or death of the kind-hearted, — they are liable to be sold to the slave-dealer who will bid highest, and sent to some other region, under circumstances which, to their ignorant imaginations, seem worse than the reality proves. When added to all other deprivations and sufferings, this horrible fear, weighing incessantly on the thoughts of millions of men and women, is itself an evil of terrible magnitude.

But a still more important consideration is to be kept in mind. The blacks of the South are no longer such as their fathers were when brought from the shores of Africa. They have ceased to be savages. In its worse or better forms, all of them have caught some tincture of civilization. The better class of slaves are more civilized, have less of the brutal about them, than the lower class of whites. With increasing civilization, there is a development of the affections, of the

moral sensibilities, and of that forethought also which makes men more apprehensive of future evil. They have learned to place the same estimate on kindred and domestic bonds as their masters ; and they have intelligence enough to understand the nature of those advantages which they never must look on except as blessings from whose enjoyment they are to be for ever excluded. The very improvement, which is sometimes put forward as one of the compensations of their lot, has made them sensitive to forms of suffering from which their forefathers were protected by their more brutal condition. The coffle of slaves torn from their families, which the slave-driver conducts by slow and weary stages from Virginia to the sugar-houses of the South, is, to the eye of reason, a more mournful spectacle than the barracoons on the coast of Africa. The wretched beings subjected to this doom are not less dragged away from all to which they are most attached, and carried, powerless victims, to a region and a fate which they most of all dread, but they are capable of a more clinging and paralyzing fear, and feel with infinitely more keenness everything that tears and wounds the affections. Every truth of religion which has dawned on their minds, every domestic bond they have learned to value, every idea and sentiment of a better kind which they have insensibly derived from intercourse with a better instructed race around them, only makes them more sensitive to the lot to which they are doomed. Common humanity demands that, if this traffic — “without mercy and without natural affection” — is to go on, the slaves should be kept as near the condition of brutes as possible. Ignorance, brutality, and callousness to every claim of the affections, if suffering only is to be thought of, constitute a boon for the slave, by putting him into a state of moral insensibility, scarcely less blessed than the state induced by that mediocr discovery of the present time which promises so to alleviate the physical pains of man.

Is there exaggeration in this ? We wish we could believe there was ; but there is not. A perpetual fear haunts the slaves, as the fear of ghosts haunts superstitious children, with the mournful difference that the slaves' apprehensions are well founded. This dread of being torn from their families, of being sold to they know not whom, and of being sent to the cotton and sugar plantations of the Southwest, is seen running through and giving a dark coloring to all the

narratives before us. In fact, the slaves are not merely liable to be thus sold, but the threat of it serves as an instrument of the police to make them submissive and industrious. It is held up constantly as a punishment for the refractory and disobedient ; and that it may be more effective, every circumstance which can make it alarming to the slave's imagination is kept before him. But in trying to avoid this peril, it does not do for him to show too many of the qualities of a self-supporting manhood. The slave's path is a Mahomet's bridge. His virtues may be as dangerous to himself as his vices. If a slave is restless, intelligent, and enterprising, the master is tempted to sell him to the South, lest he should escape to freedom and the North. And no matter what the master's feelings or wishes, if he becomes poor, or dies, his slaves are always exposed, even if they be not actually subjected, to this doom.

The narrative of Douglass contains the life of a superior man. Since his escape from slavery, he has been employed as an antislavery lecturer, and is now the editor of a newspaper in Rochester, N. Y. He does not belong to the class, always small, of those who bring to light great principles, or who originate new methods of carrying them out. He has, however, the vividness of sensibility and of thought which we are accustomed to associate with a Southern climate. He has a natural and ready eloquence, a delicacy of taste, a quick perception of proprieties, a quick apprehension of ideas, and a felicity of expression, which are possessed by few among the more cultivated, and which are surprising when we consider that it is but a few years since he was a slave. In any popular assembly met for the discussion of subjects with which he has had the opportunity to become familiar, he is a man to command and hold attention. He is a natural orator, and his original endowments and the peculiarity of his position have given him a high place among antislavery speakers.

But while our sympathies go strongly with him, and because they go with him, we are disposed to make a criticism on a mode of address in which he sometimes indulges himself, which we believe is likely to diminish, not only his usefulness, but his real influence. We would not detract from his merits, and we can easily excuse in him a severity of judgment and a one-sidedness of view which might be inexcusable in another. We can hardly condemn one who

has been a slave for seeing only the evils of slavery, and for thinking lightly of the difficulty of remedying them ; but we have wished, when we have heard him speak, or read what he has written, that he might wholly avoid a fault from which a natural magnanimity does something towards saving him, but to which he is nevertheless exposed. His associates at the North have been among those who are apt to mistake violence and extravagance of expression and denunciation for eloquence ; — men who, whatever their virtues otherwise, are not in the habit of using discrimination in their judgments of men or of measures which they do not approve. To him they have doubtless been true and faithful friends, and he naturally adopts their style of speech. But it is a mistaken one, if the speaker wishes to sway the judgment of his hearers and to accomplish any practical end. No matter what the vehemence of tone or expression, whenever a public speaker indulges himself in violent and unqualified statements and in sweeping denunciations, he not only makes it apparent that he is deficient in a sound and fair judgment, but what is worse, he creates in his hearers a secret distrust of his real earnestness, — a vague feeling that after all he is thinking more of his speech than of the end for which he professes to make it. When men are profoundly in earnest, they are not apt to be extravagant. The more earnest, the more rigidly true. A merchant, in discussing the politics of the day, about which he knows or cares little, freely indulges in loose, extravagant, and violent declarations. But follow him to his counting-room ; let him be making inquiries or giving directions about some enterprise which he really has deeply at heart, and the extravagance is gone. Nothing will answer here but truth, and the exact truth. His earnestness makes him calm. It is seen in the moderated accuracy, as well as in the decision and strength, of his statements. Extravagance and passion and rhetorical flourishes might do when nothing which he greatly valued was at stake ; but here is something too serious for trifling. Just so it is in other cases. A flippant, extravagant speaker, especially if he be gifted with the power of sarcasm, will probably be listened to and applauded, but nothing comes of it. They who applaud the most understand very well that this is not the kind of person whose judgment is to be relied on as a guide in action. His words are listened to with much the same sort of interest that is given

to the personated passion of the theatre. A few sober words from a calm, wise, discriminating mind are, after all, the ones which are followed. Nothing is less effective, for any practical end, than the "withering and scorching" eloquence with which American speeches seem so to abound. It conciliates no opponent, and though it may light up the momentary passions, it gives no new strength of conviction to the friends of a cause. It is the last kind of eloquence to be cultivated by those who are heartily in earnest in their desire to promote any great reform.

We by no means think that these remarks apply peculiarly to Douglass. We make them, however, because we think that, more often than he is probably aware, he suffers himself to fall into this mode of speech. He has such ability to appeal to the higher and more generous sentiments, and such appeals do so much to win over enemies and to strengthen friends, he has such personal knowledge of slavery, and is so competent to make all he says effective, through candor and a just appreciation of the difficulties that beset the subject of emancipation, and is withal so much of a man, that we regret any mistake of judgment which tends to diminish his power as an advocate of the antislavery cause.\*

While upon this topic, we will take advantage of the opportunity to express our regret that there are so many who consider Mr. Clay a fitting subject of abuse. We have no doubt that their denunciations of this eminent statesman are very sincere, but it is a mournful fact that they can be sincere. In most cases it is hardly possible to retain confidence in the good faith of those who profess to desire the abolition of slavery, and who yet attack Mr. Clay with unmeasured virulence because of his recent letter on emancipation.

If slavery is done away at all, it must be, as we have al-

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\* We have hesitated about making these remarks; and now, on reading them over, the sympathy which his narrative excites, and our respect for the force of character he has shown in rising from the depths of bondage to be the equal associate of those who have possessed every opportunity of cultivation and refinement, almost make us erase what we have written. We would avoid giving pain to one who has suffered all that we should most dread for ourselves, and who has risen above obstacles by which we should probably have been crushed. But still, whatever the past has been, he is now free. By his indisputable deserts, he has secured for himself an influential position. The course which he takes is important to others beside himself. Should he read this criticism, we hope that the internal evidence will be sufficient to show that it is written by one who rejoices in his usefulness. And in the faith that he may so read it, and that its suggestions may not be without value, we allow it to stand.

ready remarked, by the inhabitants of the Slave States. At present, nothing seems so desirable as that Kentucky should take a decided step towards emancipation. The question has been very much agitated, as is well known, for years past, in that Commonwealth. But emancipation has met with such vehement opposition from its enemies and such lukewarm support from its friends, that, a few months ago, the leading men of the State who are in favor of it thought the matter so hopeless, that, discouraged and paralyzed, they were on the point of abandoning all efforts to that end. They had almost given up the idea of making it one of the subjects to be discussed before the people in the election of delegates to the convention recently called for the revision of the constitution. It is a mistake to suppose that the support given to slavery by that instrument was the only, or in the minds of most the principal, cause why a revision was needed. And the chance of effecting anything on this point had become so slight, that many thought it best that it should not even be brought forward. A week before Mr. Clay's letter was written, the legislature voted unanimously that it was inexpedient and in bad faith to bring it either before the people in the election of delegates, or before the convention when it should have assembled. At this time and under these circumstances Mr. Clay's letter appeared. Whether we agree or not with him as to method or time, and we certainly do not agree with him in regard to either, he does what alone is at the present moment important, — he takes his stand decidedly, and throws his great influence on the side of emancipation. His letter was addressed to Kentuckians, — not to abolitionists, — to enlist those who are slaveholders on the side of freedom. A more masterly letter for the purpose — fitted to win over enemies and to encourage friends — could hardly have been written. It instantly revived the drooping courage of the antislavery party. It gave such importance to their measures, that it has lighted up the State with new discussions of the subject. Instead of the despair which had settled on the hearts of the emancipationists a few months ago, there is now resolution and confidence. It is by no means certain what may be done, but there is at least a fair chance that some decisive steps will be taken for the removal of slavery.

While we should be utterly opposed to his particular scheme of emancipation, we cannot fail to see that Mr.

Clay has nobly identified himself with the great interests of humanity. At this moment he is doing incomparably more for freedom than any living man, — and we believe more than all the antislavery men of the North united. The appetite for calumny and denunciation must be ravenous and insatiate, which can lead those who profess to wish well to the cause of freedom to attack Mr. Clay. What has he done? He has joined the party of freedom, or rather has come out to express in his old age the sentiments of his youth and his manhood. He has done it at the cost of drawing on himself the bitter denunciations both of the South and the North. He has proposed the best scheme for emancipation which, under the circumstances, he thought could be framed. It may not be the best possible, nor the one he would himself choose were the field open for a free choice; but it is the only one which in his judgment could secure the coöperation of a majority of the citizens of Kentucky. The plan, however, is only incidental and of secondary importance, and to be decided upon by a convention, whose members are not yet even elected. What only is essential, he has thrown himself without reserve or qualification into the ranks of those who are fighting for freedom. And we say, God speed him, and those engaged in the same good cause.

There are many passages in the narrative of Douglass which we should be pleased to quote, but it has been so long published and so widely circulated, that many of our readers have probably seen it. We would only say, in conclusion, that we feel a deep interest in his career. He is one of the living evidences that there is in the colored population of the South no natural incapacity for the enjoyment of freedom; and he occupies a position and possesses abilities which enable him, if he pursues a wise course, to be a most useful laborer in the cause of human rights.

The life of Henson has but just been published, and he has shown himself to be so remarkable a man, that we propose to give a more particular account of him. The narrative owes its existence to the interest which his judicious, far-seeing, and persevering efforts to improve the condition of the colored people who have found a home in Canada have excited in his behalf. It was written to his dictation by a gentleman of this city, who has done good service to humanity in preparing and publishing it. It is as simple,

straightforward, and to the point, as the character which it describes, and cannot be read without suggesting many subjects for profitable thought.

Henson is one of those who, in any situation, among his associates would be a marked and leading man. Though an effective speaker, he is not one of the popular declaimers; he is a large-hearted, large-minded man, tolerant, calm, benevolent, and wise. He has not only shown himself to be competent to understand and portray the evils of slavery, but, what implies far higher qualities of mind and heart, that he possesses the wisdom to conceive, and the practical talent and energy to carry out, large and far-reaching schemes for the improvement of his brethren.

He was born in the year 1789, in Maryland, from which State he was transferred to Kentucky in 1825. He made no attempt to escape from bondage until, after having nearly paid for himself, he found that it was the purpose of his master to dispose of him at the South. The sense of wrong and of danger at length roused him to attempt what, probably, under other circumstances, he would not have thought of. He escaped with his family into Canada, in the year 1830. After a few years, his mind became deeply impressed with the wants and wretched condition of the colored people who, like himself, had escaped from slavery, and of whom at the present time not less than twenty thousand are within the Canadian borders. He determined to devote himself to their improvement. They were, for the most part, in extreme poverty, their children growing up in ignorance, generally hiring themselves out as servants and laborers, and a large proportion of them clinging to the larger towns, where, under the shadow of the whites, they could never be anything but an inferior and servile caste. His first object was to induce them to leave the large towns, to purchase wild land, and thus to become independent farmers. In pursuance of this scheme, he found means to secure a tract of land between Lakes Erie and St. Clair, where large numbers of the blacks have been led to establish themselves. He found their universal ignorance constantly in the way of all plans for their elevation, and his next step was to secure the means of education. For this purpose several schools were opened, the principal one of which is a manual-labor school, at Dawn. With little sympathy, he has been doing for the blacks of Canada what Horace Mann has so nobly done for the whites of Massachusetts. At the age of forty-two, he himself learned

to read ; and, amidst his other multiplied labors, he has been a regular preacher in the Methodist connection. He has had to contend with the extremest poverty ; for the fugitive slave brings with him nothing but his muscles and the unthrifty habits of slavery. And, more difficult still, he has had to secure the coöperation of the colored race, accustomed to look no farther than the present day, in schemes whose full fruits cannot appear till generations have lived and died. But in spite of every obstacle, he seems likely to accomplish all his plans. He bids fair to be ranked as the Moses of the regenerated Africans in Canada. He is trying an experiment on which every philanthropist must look with profound interest, and which will help, at the least, to show how far emancipated slaves are capable of taking care of themselves.

We make no apology for giving long extracts from this narrative. We believe it to be the best picture of the evils incident to slave life on the plantations which can be found. Those who know Henson will not doubt his statements of facts ; and there is a freedom from exaggeration, a tolerance of judgment, and an absence of personal bitterness, which give additional weight to his testimony. He does not represent all the whites in the Slave States as demons ; but they appear in his narrative such as they are in reality, — human beings with the average virtues and vices of mankind, but their characters modified by the institutions under which they live. Among the whites he had kind friends, — he knew those who were opposed to slavery ; even those among his several masters who, in particular cases, treated him the worst, he looks back upon with kindness. He sees that the masters, in their worst vices, are hardly less the victims of this disastrous institution than are the slaves in their degradation. There is no disposition to nurse his indignation against the wrongs he has received, or to bring them forward as a complete picture of slavery. With his abhorrence of the institution is blended commiseration for all classes, black and white, who live under it. Whether he is right or wrong, others can judge as well as we ; but this tolerant and kindly feeling — which appears constantly in his book, but which has been especially remarked by every one who has had any private intercourse with him — gives a peculiar air of trustworthiness to what he says. And we must add, that the qualities of character which he shows by no means make us more in love with an institution to which such a man

may become a victim. We might draw from his life abundant illustrations of all the evils which we have referred to in the preceding part of this article as naturally resulting from slavery, and in our extracts we shall keep these points in view.

The earliest memory of Henson's childhood was sufficiently horrible. It was the appearance of his father one day, in a state of the greatest excitement, with his head bloody and his back lacerated. He had been suffering the penalty of the Maryland law for beating a white man. His right ear had been cut off, and he had received a hundred lashes on his back. He had beaten the overseer for a brutal assault on his wife ; — such was the crime and such the punishment. Before this he had shown an amiable temper, but he now became morose, moody, and intractable ; so much so, that his master sent him to Alabama, and neither Henson nor his mother ever heard of him again.

His mother had been hired out to the owner of his father, and after this event she was taken back to her owner, who is described as a man of good natural impulses, kind-hearted, liberal, jovial, benevolent, and one who never allowed a slave to be struck. Henson represents himself as having been treated as a pet by him ; and with him his mother, with three girls and three boys, lived for several years in comparative comfort.

The death of this man, however, brought about a revolution in their condition, which, he says, “ common as such things are in slave countries, can never be imagined by those not subject to them, nor recollected by those who have been, without emotions of grief and indignation deep and ineffaceable.”

“ In consequence of his decease, it became necessary to sell the estate and the slaves, in order to divide the property among the heirs ; and we were all put up at auction, and sold to the highest bidder, and scattered over various parts of the country. My brothers and sisters were bid off one by one, while my mother, holding my hand, looked on in an agony of grief, the cause of which I but ill understood at first, but which dawned on my mind with dreadful clearness as the sale proceeded. My mother was then separated from me, and put up in her turn. She was bought by a man named Isaac R., residing in Montgomery county, and then I was offered to the assembled purchasers. My mother, half distracted with the parting for ever from all her children,

pushed through the crowd while the bidding for me was going on, to the spot where R. was standing. She fell at his feet, and clung to his knees, entreating him in tones that a mother only could command, to buy her *baby* as well as herself, and spare to her one of her little ones at least. Will it, can it be believed, that this man, thus appealed to, was capable, not merely of turning a deaf ear to her supplication, but of disengaging himself from her with such violent blows and kicks, as to reduce her to the necessity of creeping out of his reach, and mingling the groan of bodily suffering with the sob of a breaking heart? Yet this was one of my earliest observations of men; an experience which has been common to me with thousands of my race, the bitterness of which its frequency cannot diminish to any individual who suffers it, while it is dark enough to overshadow the whole after-life with something blacker than a funeral pall. I was bought by a stranger. Almost immediately, however, whether my childish strength, at five or six years of age, was overmastered by such scenes and experiences, or from some accidental cause, I fell sick, and seemed to my new master so little likely to recover, that he proposed to R., the purchaser of my mother, to take me too, at such a trifling rate that it could not be refused. I was thus providentially restored to my mother; and under her care, destitute as she was of the proper means of nursing me, I recovered my health, and grew up to be an uncommonly vigorous and healthy boy and man." — pp. 3 – 5.

We add the description of his new master; for the condition of the slave is determined by the character of the man whom he serves.

"The character of R., the master whom I faithfully served for many years, is by no means an uncommon one in any part of the world; but it is to be regretted that a domestic institution should anywhere put it in the power of such a one to tyrannize over his fellow-beings, and inflict so much needless misery as is sure to be produced by such a man in such a position. Coarse and vulgar in his habits, unprincipled and cruel in his general deportment, and especially addicted to the vice of licentiousness, his slaves had little opportunity for relaxation from wearying labor, were supplied with the scantiest means of sustaining their toil by necessary food, and had no security for personal rights. The natural tendency of slavery is to convert the master into a tyrant, and the slave into the cringing, treacherous, false, and thieving victim of tyranny. R. and his slaves were no exception to the general rule, but might be cited as apt illustrations of the nature of the case." — p. 5.

With this man he lived more than thirty years, subjected

to the varied hardships of the slave's lot, and in one case to a brutality of treatment the effects of which remain to this day. Henson, however, early showed a degree of capacity and fidelity, which finally made his services almost indispensable to his master. He became the superintendent of the plantation, and gradually the disposal of everything raised on it was confided to him. His master's habits of dissipation made him incompetent to attend properly to his own affairs, and a trust was reposed in Henson which enabled him to acquire a knowledge of business quite unusual among the blacks. Having begun to quote, we hardly know where to stop. The narrative is so condensed, and the varied events of a slave's life so simply and so admirably described, that it is with reluctance that we pass over the successive scenes without transferring them to our pages. But, compelled to limit our extracts, we prefer to omit those descriptions of personal suffering with which every account of slavery abounds.

We will, however, insert his account of his religious experiences, for we think it very suggestive. It shows the power of early religious impressions, and it shows also the adaptation of religious truth to the wants of the human mind. There has recently been published a work, entitled "*The Christian Scholar*," one part of which treats of "*Classical Complaints and Scriptural Remedies*." Its object is to show how the blind cravings of the human mind find a response in the Christian faith. The mournful darkness of a soul unvisited by revelation and the blessed light which a single truth may bring might be illustrated from the life of the slave Henson as well as from the history of Grecian sages, or that of the early converts to our religion. One of his earliest recollections was of being deeply impressed with what, he says, "I afterwards recognized as the deep piety and devotional feeling of my mother. I do not know how or when she acquired her knowledge of God, or her acquaintance with the Lord's prayer, which she so frequently repeated and taught me to repeat. I remember seeing her often on her knees, endeavouring to arrange her thoughts in prayers appropriate to her situation, but which amounted to little more than constant ejaculations, and the repetition of short phrases which were within my infant comprehension, and have remained in my memory to this hour." We give the account of the impression made by the first sermon he ever heard.

“Up to this period of my life, and I was then eighteen years old, I had never heard a sermon, nor any discourse or conversation whatever, upon religious topics, except what had been impressed upon me by my mother, of the responsibility of all to a Supreme Being. When I arrived at the place of meeting, the services were so far advanced that the speaker was just beginning his discourse, from the text, Hebrews ii. 9: ‘That he, by the grace of God, should taste of death for every man.’ This was the first text of the Bible to which I had ever listened, knowing it to be such. I have never forgotten it, and scarce a day has passed since in which I have not recalled it, and the sermon that was preached from it. The divine character of Jesus Christ, his life and teachings, his sacrifice of himself for others, his death and resurrection, were all alluded to, and some of the points were dwelt upon with great power, — great, at least, to me, who heard of these things for the first time in my life. I was wonderfully impressed, too, with the use which the preacher made of the last words of the text, ‘*for every man.*’ He said the death of Christ was not designed for the benefit of a select few only, but for the salvation of the world, for the bond as well as the free; and he dwelt on the glad tidings of the Gospel to the poor, the persecuted, and the distressed, its deliverance to the captive, and the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, till my heart burned within me, and I was in a state of the greatest excitement at the thought that such a being as Jesus Christ had been described to be should have died for me, — for *me* among the rest, a poor, despised, abused slave, who was thought by his fellow-creatures fit for nothing but unrequited toil and ignorance, for mental and bodily degradation. I immediately determined to find out something more about ‘Christ and him crucified’; and revolving the things which I had heard in my mind as I went home, I became so excited that I turned aside from the road into the woods, and prayed to God for light and for aid with an earnestness which, however unenlightened, was at least sincere and heartfelt; and which the subsequent course of my life has led me to imagine might not have been unacceptable to Him who heareth prayer. At all events, I date my conversion and my awakening to a new life — a consciousness of superior powers and destiny to anything I had before conceived of — from this day, so memorable to me. I used every means and opportunity of inquiry into religious matters; and so deep was my conviction of their superior importance to everything else, so clear my perception of my own faults, and so undoubting my observation of the darkness and sin that surrounded me, that I could not help talking much on these subjects with those about me; and it was not long before I began to pray with them and exhort them, and to impart to the poor slaves those little glim-

merings of light from another world which had reached my own eye. In a few years I became quite an esteemed preacher among them, and I will not believe it is vanity which leads me to think I was useful to some." — pp. 11 – 13.

In the course of time Henson's master, by dissipation and lawsuits, had become embarrassed in his circumstances. In order to save something from his creditors, he determined to place his slaves where they could not be reached. At length, by various representations, by appeals to his good feelings, by threats of selling them all to the slave-dealers of the Southwestern markets, he succeeded in persuading Henson to take eighteen of them to a brother in Kentucky. The enterprise and the journey, through a country to him entirely unknown, by the way of Wheeling and the Ohio River to Montgomery county, is full of a romantic interest. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, he successfully accomplished what he had undertaken. We can only quote a paragraph showing the struggle in a conscientious mind between fidelity to his master and justice to the slave.

"In passing along the State of Ohio, we were frequently told that we were free, if we chose to be so. At Cincinnati, especially, the colored people gathered round us, and urged us with much importunity to remain with them; told us it was folly to go on; and, in short, used all the arguments now so familiar to induce slaves to quit their masters. My companions probably had little perception of the nature of the boon that was offered to them, and were willing to do just as I told them, without a wish to judge for themselves. Not so with me. From my earliest recollection, freedom had been the object of my ambition, a constant motive to exertion, an ever-present stimulus to gain and to save. No other means of obtaining it, however, had occurred to me but purchasing myself of my master. The idea of running away was not one that I had ever indulged. I had a sentiment of honor on the subject, or what I thought such, which I would not have violated even for freedom; and every cent which I had ever felt entitled to call my own had been treasured up for this great purpose, till I had accumulated between thirty and forty dollars. Now was offered to me an opportunity I had not anticipated. I might liberate my family, my companions, and myself, without the smallest risk, and without injustice to any individual, except one whom we had none of us any reason to love, who had been guilty of cruelty and oppression to us all for many years, and who had never shown the smallest symptom of sympathy with us, or with any one in our condition. But I need not make the

exception. There would have been no injustice to R. himself—it would have been a retribution which might be called righteous—if I had availed myself of the opportunity thus thrust suddenly upon me.

“But it was a punishment which it was not for me to inflict. I had promised that man to take his property to Kentucky, and deposit it with his brother; and this, and this only, I resolved to do. I left Cincinnati before night, though I had intended to remain there, and encamped with my entire party a few miles below the city. What advantages I may have lost by thus throwing away an opportunity of obtaining freedom, I know not; but the perception of my own strength of character, the feeling of integrity, the sentiment of high honor, I have experienced,—these advantages I do know, and prize; and would not lose them, nor the recollection of having attained them, for all that I can imagine to have resulted from an earlier release from bondage. I have often had painful doubts as to the propriety of my carrying so many other individuals into slavery again, and my consoling reflection has been, that I acted as I thought at the time was best.”—pp. 23–25.

We must omit all but a general account of his attempt to purchase his freedom. He had been for a considerable time a preacher in the Methodist connection. At the suggestion of a white Methodist minister, he obtained permission to revisit Maryland. On the way he passed through Ohio, and preached in various towns, on which occasions he also took up collections to a considerable amount. He might now have easily escaped from bondage, but his wife and children were in Kentucky, and the only method by which he could escape, and also secure their freedom, was by purchase. Through the aid of a white friend in Maryland, he succeeded in making his owner engage to liberate him on receiving 450 dollars. He immediately paid 350 dollars, and returned to Kentucky, hoping before long to obtain the remainder, for which he had given his note, and on the payment of which his manumission papers were to take effect, and he be a free man. But on his return, he found that his owner had contrived basely to cheat him, and that his manumission papers, which he still has in his possession, would, as he was situated, be of no avail. He was compelled to sit down silently under a fraud which he had not the means of effectually exposing. Before long he was threatened with a still greater wrong. For some reason, apparently growing out of the wants of the man who claimed to be his owner, it was

determined, though of course he was not at the time informed of the plan, to send him to the South to be sold. After several conversations about pecuniary difficulties, his master, professing to act under the orders of his brother in Maryland, told him that he "must get ready to go to New Orleans with his son Amos, a young man about twenty-one years of age, who was going down the river with a flat-boat, and was nearly ready to start; in fact he was to leave the next day, and I must go and take care of him, and help him dispose of the cargo."

"The intimation was enough. Though it was not distinctly stated, yet I well knew what was intended, and my heart sunk within me at the near prospect of this fatal blight to all my long-cherished hopes. There was no alternative but death itself; and I thought that there was hope as long as there was life, and I would not despair even yet. The expectation of my fate, however, produced the degree of misery nearest to that of despair; and it is in vain for me to attempt to describe the wretchedness I experienced as I made ready to go on board the flat-boat." — p. 38.

Our next quotation is a long one, but our readers will, we are sure, not object to its length. As it is, we omit the description of the voyage and the events following his return home, and retain only enough to reveal what may be passing in the mind of a slave.

"After the captain became blind, we were obliged to lie by at night, as none of the rest of us had been down the river before; and it was necessary to keep watch all night, to prevent depredations by the negroes on shore, who used frequently to attack such boats as ours, for the sake of the provisions on board. As I paced backwards and forwards on the deck, during my watch, it may well be believed I revolved many a painful and passionate thought. After all that I had done for Isaac and Amos R., after all the regard they professed for me, and the value they could not but put upon me, such a return as this for my services, such an evidence of their utter inattention to my claims upon them, and the intense selfishness with which they were ready to sacrifice me, at any moment, to their supposed interest, turned my blood to gall and wormwood, and changed me from a lively, and, I will say, a pleasant-tempered fellow, into a savage, morose, dangerous slave. I was going not at all as a lamb to the slaughter, but I felt myself becoming more ferocious every day; and as we approached the place where this iniquity was to be consummated, I became more and more agitated with an almost uncontrollable fury. I had met, on the

passage, with some of my Maryland acquaintance who had been sold off to this region; and their haggard and wasted appearance told a piteous story of excessive labor and insufficient food. I said to myself, 'If this is to be my lot, I cannot survive it long. I am not so young as these men, and if it has brought them to such a condition, it will soon kill me. I am to be taken by my masters and owners, who ought to be my grateful friends, to a place and a condition where my life is to be shortened, as well as made more wretched. Why should I not prevent this wrong, if I can, by shortening their lives, or those of their agents in accomplishing such detestable injustice? I can do the last easily enough. They have no suspicion of me, and they are at this moment under my control, and in my power. There are many ways in which I can despatch them and escape, and I feel that I should be justified in availing myself of the first good opportunity.' These were not thoughts which just flitted across my mind's eye, and then disappeared. They fashioned themselves into shapes which grew larger, and seemed firmer, every time they presented themselves; and at length my mind was made up to convert the phantom shadow into a positive reality. I resolved to kill my four companions, take what money there was in the boat, then to scuttle the craft, and escape to the North. It was a poor plan, may-be, and would very likely have failed; but it was as well contrived, under the circumstances, as the plans of murderers usually are; and blinded by passion, and stung to madness as I was, I could not see any difficulty about it. One dark, rainy night, within a few days of New Orleans, my hour seemed to have come. I was alone on the deck; Mr. Amos and the hands were all asleep below, and I crept down noiselessly, got hold of an axe, entered the cabin, and, looking by the aid of the dim light there for my victims, my eye fell upon Master Amos, who was nearest to me; my hand slid along the axe-handle, I raised it to strike the fatal blow,—when suddenly the thought came to me, 'What! commit *murder*! and you a Christian?' I had not called it murder before. It was self-defence,—it was preventing others from murdering me,—it was justifiable, it was even praiseworthy. But now, all at once, the truth burst upon me that it was a crime. I was going to kill a young man, who had done nothing to injure me, but obey commands which he could not resist; I was about to lose the fruit of all my efforts at self-improvement, the character I had acquired, and the peace of mind which had never deserted me. All this came upon me instantly, and with a distinctness which made me almost think I heard it whispered in my ear; and I believe I even turned my head to listen. I shrunk back, laid down the axe, crept up on deck again, and thanked God, as I have done every day since, that I had not committed murder.

"My feelings were still agitated, but they were changed. I was filled with shame and remorse for the design I had entertained, and with the fear that my companions would detect it in my face, or that a careless word would betray my guilty thoughts. I remained on deck all night, instead of rousing one of the men to relieve me, and nothing brought composure to my mind but the solemn resolution I then made to resign myself to the will of God, and take with thankfulness, if I could, but with submission, at all events, whatever he might decide should be my lot. I reflected, that, if my life were reduced to a brief term, I should have less to suffer, and that it was better to die with a Christian's hope, and a quiet conscience, than to live with the incessant recollection of a crime that would destroy the value of life, and under the weight of a secret that would crush out the satisfaction that might be expected from freedom and every other blessing.

"It was long before I recovered my self-control and serenity; but I believe no one but those to whom I have told the story myself ever suspected me of having entertained such thoughts for a moment.

"In a few days after this tremendous crisis we arrived in New Orleans, and the little that remained of our cargo was soon sold, the men were discharged, and nothing was left but to dispose of me, and break up the boat, and then Mr. Amos would take passage on a steamboat, and go home. There was no longer any disguise about the purpose of selling me. Mr. Amos acknowledged that such were his instructions, and he set about fulfilling them. Several planters came to the boat to look at me; and I was sent of some hasty errand, that they might see how I could run. My points were canvassed as those of a horse would have been; and doubtless some account of my human faculties was thrown into the discussion of the bargain, that my value as a domestic animal might be enhanced. Amos had talked, with apparent kindness, about getting me a good master, who would employ me as a coachman, or as a house-servant; but as time passed on I could discern no particular effort of the kind. At length everything was wound up but this single affair. The boat was to be sold, and I was to be sold, the next day, and Amos was to set off on his return at six o'clock in the afternoon. I could not sleep that night, which seemed long enough to me, though it was one of the shortest in the year. The slow way in which we had come down had brought us to the long days and the heat of June; and everybody knows what the climate of New Orleans is at that time of the year.

"A little before daylight master Amos awoke indisposed. His stomach was disordered, but he lay down again, thinking it

would pass off. In a little while he was up again, and felt more sick than before, and it was soon evident that the river fever was upon him. He became rapidly worse, and by eight o'clock in the morning he was utterly prostrate; his head was on my lap, and he was begging me to help him, to do something for him, to save him. The tables were turned. He was now rather more dependent upon me than I had been upon him the day before. He entreated me to despatch matters, to sell the flat-boat, in which we two had been living by ourselves for some days, and to get him and his trunk, containing the proceeds of the trip, on board the steamer as quick as possible, and especially not to desert him so long as he lived, nor to suffer his body, if he died, to be thrown into the river. I attended to all his requests, and by twelve o'clock that day he was in one of the cabins of the steamer appropriated to sick passengers.

"All was done which could be done for the comfort and relief of any one in such a desperate condition. But he was reduced to extremity. He ceased to grow worse after a day or two, and he must speedily have died if he had not; but his strength was so entirely gone, that he could neither speak nor move a limb; and could only indicate his wish for a teaspoonful of gruel, or something to moisten his throat, by a feeble motion of his lips. I nursed him carefully and constantly. Nothing else could have saved his life. It hung by a thread for a long time. We were as much as twelve days in reaching home, for the water was low at that season, particularly in the Ohio River; and when we arrived at our landing he was still unable to speak, and could only be moved on a sheet, or a litter." — pp. 40–46.

This seemingly providential escape from hopeless bondage determined him at once, as soon as possible, to fly from slavery. It would have been easy for him alone to have freed himself, but he could not leave his wife and four young children behind.

"On the night of the following Saturday, I had decided to set out, as it would then be several days before I should be missed, and I should get a good start. Some time previously I had got my wife to make me a large knapsack, big enough to hold the two smallest children; and I had arranged it that she should lead the second boy, while the oldest was stout enough to go by himself, and to help me carry the necessary food. I used to pack the little ones on my back, of an evening, after I had got through my day's work, and trot round the cabin with them, and go some little distance from it, in order to accustom both them and myself to the task before us.

"At length the eventful night came. I went up to the house

to ask leave to take Tom home with me, that he might have his clothes mended. No objection was made, and I bade Master Amos 'Good night' for the last time. It was about the middle of September, and by nine o'clock in the evening all was ready. It was a dark, moonless night, and we got into the little skiff in which I had induced a fellow-slave to take us across the river. It was an agitating and solemn moment. The good fellow who was rowing us over said this affair might end in his death; 'but,' said he, 'you will not be brought back alive, will you?' 'Not if I can help it,' I answered. 'And if you are overpowered and return,' he asked, 'will you conceal my part of the business?' 'That I will, so help me God,' I replied. 'Then I am easy,' he answered, 'and wish you success.' We landed on the Indiana shore, and I began to feel that I was my own master. But in what circumstances of fear and misery still! We were to travel by night, and rest by day, in the woods and bushes. We were thrown absolutely upon our own poor and small resources, and were to rely on our own strength alone. The population was not so numerous as now, nor so well disposed to the slave. We dared look to no one for help. But my courage was equal to the occasion, and we trudged on cautiously and steadily, and as fast as the darkness, and the feebleness of my wife and boys, would allow.

"It was nearly a fortnight before we reached Cincinnati; and a day or two previous to getting there, our provisions were used up, and I had the misery to hear the cry of hunger and exhaustion from those I loved so dearly. It was necessary to run the risk of exposure by daylight upon the road; so I sprung upon it boldly from our hiding-place one morning, and turned towards the south, to prevent the suspicion of my going the other way. I approached the first house I saw, and asked if they would sell me a little bread and meat. No, they had nothing for black fellows. At the next I succeeded better, but had to make as good a bargain as I could, and that was not very successful, with a man who wanted to see how little he could give me for my quarter of a dollar. As soon as I had succeeded in making a purchase, I followed the road, still towards the south, till I got out of sight of the house, and then darted into the woods again, and returned northward, just out of sight of the road. The food which I bought, such as it was, put new life and strength into my wife and children when I got back to them again, and we at length arrived safe at Cincinnati." — pp. 49 — 52.

For his journey across Ohio, his escape to Canada, and for his subsequent career, we must refer our readers to the volume before us. It is full of instructive suggestions re-

specting the highest questions of social progress. The wisdom of his plans for the improvement of the colored race appears strikingly when contrasted with the multitude of fancies which prevail respecting the best methods of regenerating and elevating society. We have already given a brief account of his labors for the benefit of the fugitive slaves congregated in Canada, and of what he has proposed to accomplish. We are so accustomed to judge of men by the conspicuous positions which they occupy, that our estimate of what Henson has done may seem exaggerated. We think it will not, however, to those who feel sufficient interest in him to become acquainted with his course. It shows a very unusual elevation of mind and moral feeling, that one with his training should have conceived so clearly the importance of raising the general condition of the colored population, and should have been so self-impelled to seek the means of its improvement. But when we see one bred a slave, destitute, and obliged to labor steadily for the daily support of a large family, not learning to read till past middle life, and since then, probably, having read hardly any book but the Bible, — when we see such a one rousing the sluggish minds of his brethren to the idea of improvement, and, with no guide but his native good-sense and a benevolent heart, endeavouring to induce them to put into practice principles which such men as Adam Smith and Mill, and the best writers on political economy, have only slowly attained to, — we feel warranted in saying that under the slave's garb and this African skin there is no ordinary man. We think his history and his opinions quite as deserving of lengthened attention as those of a successful soldier or a mere party politician.

There are five things on which he has relied for the improvement of the blacks: — on religious instruction; on education; on withdrawing them from town and village life into the country, and, for the present, till new habits and ideas are established, away from the overshadowing presence of the whites; on inducing them to become the owners of the soil which they cultivate; and on habits of industry directed to the cultivation of those products most suitable to the region where they dwell. Through these means he hopes to promote, instead of the mental and moral childhood and imbecility of slavery, independence, forethought, intelligence, and a higher standard of character. If the founder

of every little robber state of antiquity has been deemed worthy of eternal commemoration in history and song, we think that he is deserving of respect, whether he finally succeeds or not, who but heartily attempts, by wise methods, to convert these thousands of fugitive slaves into a commonwealth of free and Christian men and women. If any of our readers think our notice of him too long, they may take to themselves the satisfaction of believing that there will not speedily appear another man of a similar sort, engaged in a similar undertaking, to weary their attention. If we may trust history, such men come singly, and only at considerable intervals. At any rate, however common they may be, so peculiar an opportunity for trying an experiment in civilization cannot often occur. We have no fear, however, that an apology will be thought needful. We believe that our readers will be interested in the efforts of one who, without noise or pretension, without bitterness towards the whites, without extravagant claims in behalf of the blacks, has patiently, wisely, and devotedly given himself to the improvement of the large body of his wretched countrymen amongst whom his lot has been cast.

If death do not interrupt his exertions, we hope for important results from his labors. Even then, others who have learned to sympathize with him may be prepared to take his place. And if in this way a large and successful example can be given of the slave's capacity for freedom, we can hardly forbear hoping that it may ultimately have an important influence on the efforts made to relieve the whole South from the burden of slave institutions.

E. P.

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ART. V. — THE NEMESIS OF FAITH.\*

THIS is a sad, sad book, — all the more so from its obviously indicating a morbid tendency in the minds of many to whom England might naturally look for light and wisdom. It is a draught from a fountain full of bitter waters. Faith and hope are poisoned, and charity languisheth.

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\* *The Nemesis of Faith.* By J. A. FROUDE, M. A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London: John Chapman. 1849. 12mo. pp. 227.

The author, a son of Archdeacon Froude, has been one of the Newman, or Puseyite, clique. He is a brother of the more noted Froude who was so prominent in the beginning of the Tractarian movement, and who died before the crisis came. The book has not the form of an autobiography, yet it is very evident that the fictitious narrative is simply the thread that binds together the writer's own thoughts and experiences.

The volume opens with a series of ten letters, dated onwards from September, 1843, and written from Markham Sutherland to his friend Arthur, describing the perplexities of a young man whose religious opinions are entirely adrift, but who is expected to enter the ministry, for which he has been educated, and who is at last prevailed upon to take orders by his father's importunity and his bishop's patronage. He remains upwards of a year in his parish, and falls under suspicion, and is induced to resign his living, from his little disposition to press what were deemed the peculiar dogmas of the Gospel, and to insist upon the Atonement with any more emphasis than might be consistent in a Socinian. The letters are followed by stray thoughts from his papers, and a document of some length, entitled "The Confessions of a Skeptic," and then the volume closes with a love-affair, somewhat of the Werther school. Markham unconsciously engages the affections of an English lady residing with her husband at Lake Como, sees with horror the abyss to which they are tending, and, by his own bitter experience, is convinced of the reality of sin, whose very existence he hardly owned upon speculative grounds. He is saved from suicide by the sudden appearance of Mornington, an old college friend who had left Oxford for Rome, and Faith has its Nemesis in the penance which he undergoes in the miserable cell to which vows, rather of despair than of devotion, had driven him. Thus ends the story : —

"But Markham's new faith-fabric had been reared upon the clouds of sudden, violent feeling, and no air-castle was ever of more unabiding growth; doubt soon sapped it, and remorse, not for what he had done, but for what he had not done; and amidst the wasted ruins of his life, where the bare, bleak soil was strewn with wrecked purposes and shattered creeds, with no hope to stay him, with no fear to raise the most dreary phantom beyond the grave, he sunk down with the barren waste, and the dry sands rolled over him where he lay; and no living being was

left behind him upon earth who would not mourn over the day which brought life to Markham Sutherland."

Many thoughts are suggested by this story. "The Confessions of a Skeptic" are the key to the whole. We learn here what we have always anticipated, that the Oxfordism of the nineteenth century, like that of the seventeenth, is to produce its school of infidelity. This brother of Froude differs more from that zealot of the Church than Lord Herbert of Cherbury from his peerless brother, the Church poet of the seventeenth century, and vitiates his sometimes devout and humane sentiment by a sharp logic and harsh cynicism, that show the spirit without the power of Thomas Hobbes.

The hero's faith is first shaken by his coming under the influence of Newman and his school, who shocked his old-fashioned religious notions of the Reformation, and led him to doubt the sufficiency of the Bible as the basis of belief, apart from an infallible Church. The next step was to doubt the authority of the Church; and then, leaving the fold of Newman, he rushed into the arms of Carlyle, and in the worship of genius or heroism tried to make up for the firm foothold which he had lost. Poor solace this! The shipwreck of faith became the shipwreck of conscience; and, to save himself from one crime, he meditated another, and was only by accident snatched from self-murder.

Has England no stronger minds to inspire her youth than the two most conspicuous in these pages, — Newman and Carlyle, — the Laud and the Cromwell of the literature of the nineteenth century, — the one become the servant of Rome instead of a victim of Puritan hate, the other a terrible devourer of predominant formalism, without the great Protector's power to break down its walls? England wants a strong man, who is a good man of the Christian stamp. Let one arise who shall make her youth feel the greatness of the work given them to do, and a true moral and spiritual interest in life will save her from Oxfordism and its reaction, — from such bigots as the Bishop of Exeter, and such books as the "Nemesis of Faith."

One is often reminded of Mountford's "Euthanasia" by the tone of many of these thoughts of Mr. Froude. Mountford has, we believe, exposed himself to far greater privations than the dainty intellectualist who is Mr. Froude's hero, in order to be true to his convictions, and in a liberal Chris-

tian faith and practical charity has found a far other destiny than a monastic cell and a make-believe devotion. The heart that prompted many of the exquisite sentiments of this volume is worthy of a far better lot. It is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, without any hope of the kingdom of heaven. It is a colloquy between aspiration and despair. It makes us think of Beethoven's great symphony in C, by contrast, for it reverses that magnificent portraiture of doubt contending with faith; for the jubilee is at the beginning of the skeptic's career, and the strain ends with a wail of despair. Did God send any soul into the world for such a destiny? Or is not a case like this one of the saddest instances of moral disease, — one of the most prominent cases of the morbid anatomy of the mind?

The newspapers say that the Senior Fellow of Froude's college (Exeter College, Oxford) has publicly burnt his book. If this be true, the fire will give its pages a more conspicuous illumination than if emblazoned with all the magnificence in which modern art has sought to rival the illuminated manuscripts of the olden times.

S. O.

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#### ART. VI. — THE EARTH AND MAN.\*

A SHORT time since, we invited the attention of the readers of the *Examiner* to Mrs. Somerville's "*Physical Geography*." We now find ourselves again attracted to the same general subject by the appearance of the two remarkable works the titles of which are given below. The new translations of Humboldt's *Cosmos*, which have also pre-

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\* 1. *The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in its Relation to the History of Mankind.* By ARNOLD GUYOT, Professor of Physical Geography and History at Neuchatel, in Switzerland. Translated from the French by C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 12mo. pp. 310.

2. *The Physical Atlas. A Series of Maps and Notes, illustrating the Geographical Distribution of Natural Phenomena.* By ALEXANDER KEITH JOHNSTON, F. R. G. S., F. G. S., Geographer at Edinburgh in ordinary to her Majesty, &c., &c. Based on the *Physikalischer Atlas* of Professor H. Berghaus, with the Coöperation in their several Departments of Sir David Brewster, Professors J. D. Forbes, Edward Forbes, and J. P. Nichol, and Dr. Ami Boué, &c., &c. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1848.

sented themselves at this time, contribute to keep alive the fresh interest in physical geography first awakened by the work of Mrs. Somerville. So vast is the subject, so various and extensive its relations, that the labors of many gifted and eloquent pens will hardly be able to sketch its general outlines, much less to exhaust the details. The earth presents itself to the mind, now as a body composed of definite proportions of the solid, liquid, and gaseous elements, and again as a member of the solar system; at one time, as the arena on which the terrible forces of nature — winds, waves, earthquakes, and volcanoes, light, heat, and electricity — combat each other, and, at another time, as the no less stormy theatre on which the heart and intellect of man are revealed in action. When we turn, therefore, from one to another of the books to which we have referred, we do not feel that we are travelling over, again and again, the same wearisome and beaten track, but rather that we contemplate in succession this goodly planet with the eye of the geographer, the astronomer, the natural philosopher, and the historian.

The grand idea of Professor Guyot's work is happily expressed by the author where he calls it the *geographical march of history*. When this fair planet was first given to man, to have dominion over it, to cultivate, and to enjoy, he was not left to wander up and down upon it at random, wherever passion or caprice might direct; but God himself, acting through the agency of the physical peculiarities of the earth's surface, which he had been long and carefully making ready for the entrance of man, no less than by direct interposition, restrained and guided him, as with a father's hand. It was not the design, and it has not been the effect, of this allotment to crush and imprison the superior faculties of this young race of intellectual beings within the forces of nature, which had been gathering their strength for many thousand years. Occasionally, his march to take possession of fairer and sunnier spots than those in which man's birth was cast has been arrested by some lofty chain of mountains, a broad sea, or that wilderness of waters, the ocean. Each of these obstructions, in turn, has proved an insurmountable barrier. Whole generations, and sometimes whole races, of men have sunk beneath it, and passed out of existence without an effort, and almost without an aspiration, to overcome it. Providence, notwithstanding, had prepared a way in which all such difficulties should be eventually conquered. While

the nations, following the courses of the rivers and the mountain chains, without venturing to cross them, seem to be growing more and more estranged, they come out at length once again in sight of one another, on the borders of some common sea, to which their circuitous pilgrimage has conducted them. Thus, at the present moment, what different races, and in how various stages of civilization, do we see clustered around the shores of the Mediterranean! France, with her refinement and her science; Italy, in all the beauty of her arts and all the deformity of her degeneracy; Spain, which has been shorn of her great glory, and is now bending under the burden of a church that is crushing her to the dust; Austria, in the last convulsive gasp of her despotism; Greece, with her reviving liberties; Russia, by her encroachments; Algiers, Egypt, and Turkey, presenting their fronts to receive the renovating breezes of European civilization; — all these nations, and many others, representatives of the past, present, and future civilization of the world, are acting and reacting powerfully on one another, and stand under mutual obligation for a thousand reciprocal services. Europe, Asia, and Africa, which exhibit on their broad surface all the different phases of civilization, and at their remote extremities look upon opposite poles, still touch, like spheres, at this single point, around the classic waters of the Mediterranean. And so has it always been. Through these waters the civilizations of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Arabia have exerted their power upon each other and the rest of the world. Through these waters Christianity itself has been brought into immediate contact with the moral and intellectual life of three great continents.

To the limited horizon of man's vision, this sea, though covering but a small spot on one of the smaller planets, still seems unbounded and infinite. If the sea is monotonous to one who is embarked upon its waters, nevertheless to one who stands by its side, gazes on its sublime tossing, and listens to its deep-pealing thunder, it suggests high thoughts and inspires to noble efforts. At first, the march of civilization is arrested on reaching its shores. But when its waves are hushed, and the sky is serene, and the gales are propitious, man ventures timidly out upon it, skirting the edge of its waters, till he at last discovers that what seemed without bounds can be circumnavigated in a few days or weeks. His courage strengthens, his prospects brighten:

He now ventures more boldly out, and is already master of the sea. As the first civilization was upon the banks of the fertilizing rivers, so this more advanced civilization finds its genial home by the margin of the great inland seas. But, after all, this maritime adventure is only the experimental school in which the race is training itself for the next trial of its skill and courage on the ocean. In the rapid encroachments of the most civilized races, the Atlantic Ocean is finally reached. After its sight has become familiar, intrepid navigators trust themselves to its bays, and then venture along its shores till the British Isles and the North of Europe have been visited, and the Cape of Good Hope has been turned. But the ocean cannot be spanned and its circumference measured, as can the inland sea, by skirting its shores. To the westward gaze of the restless navigator, the Atlantic offers no haven to his bark, and his stout heart falters. In the mean time, centuries roll on, — agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce by sea, geography, astronomy, optics, and all the natural sciences, are accumulating their material and intellectual treasures, and will, in time, supply the courage and the means to start for this great Western Continent, whose existence science and poetry have already confidently proclaimed. In this oceanic adventure, Spain, Portugal, the British Isles, and the Northland displayed and perfected their civilization. A voyage round the world, by doubling Cape Horn and crossing the Pacific under the gentle impulse of the trade-winds, soon succeeds to the discovery of America by the Europeans. Emigration, colonization, independence, and the establishment of free political institutions, have conspired with the amazing material resources of the Western Continent to make it the centre of a new civilization. In this work America will not act alone ; but Europe, already brought as near to her by the modern appliances of art as were once the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, will temper the fiery energies of the new world with the sober wisdom, the mature science, and the long experience of the old. To the civilization of the Mediterranean will succeed the civilization of the Atlantic.

By means of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, not a few nations merely, but whole hemispheres, with their expanded continents, and all the lonely islands, are brought within the reach of the most advanced civilization. Those races which, from superior natural endowments, or from more

favorable physical influences, have led the van in this geographical march of mankind, behold in the ocean, and in the wonderful mechanism by which it is so speedily and safely traversed, the opportunity of sharing their own rich blessings with the less favored members of the human family, who have sunk by the way, and been left to what would otherwise be a hopeless barbarism. Christianity, which teaches that all men are brethren, and that the victories of peace are more splendid, as well as more holy, than those of war, and are celebrated even in heaven, proclaims the universal missionary enterprise. While civilization is becoming more refined and exalted, it grows less selfish and exclusive. Science henceforth may exhaust her skill, not in works of destruction, but in contributing to the comfort, the unity, and the freedom of all nations. As the fountains of Christianity are purified, inspiration comes for sterner conflicts with nature than those of the ocean. Already has this new spirit braved the perils of polar seas bridged over with eternal ice, and stormed the lofty mountain ridges blanched with everlasting snow. Thus has man, once the slave of Nature, become first her interpreter, and then her master. Led on, in the outset, by the physical peculiarities of the earth's surface, following the course of the rivers, the seas, the ocean, he has at length gained a foothold in her richest dominions, selected the fairest portions for his heritage, and, under her tuition, acquired a skill and courage by which he now combats her in her most impregnable fastnesses, and crosses, with the burden of trade or the implements of science, over those mountain ranges which once locked up the infant race in a hopeless embrace.

In order to be able to trace with scientific precision this geographical march of history, at which we have cast but a cursory glance, Professor Guyot passes in review the general facts of comparative physical geography, successively announced by Lord Bacon, Forster, Pallas, Buffon, Humboldt, Steffens, and Carl Ritter. If we look at a map of the world, we shall see that the northern hemisphere contains much more land than the southern hemisphere; that the meridian passing through the middle of the Atlantic Ocean will divide the earth into an eastern and western hemisphere, one of which contains the whole of the American continent, and the other the whole of the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia; that another great

circle, of which London is not far from being the pole, will divide the earth so that the whole of the land, with the exception of Australia, shall be in one half, and the rest be almost entirely covered with water, suggesting, therefore, the idea, that the whole of that side of the moon on which the astronomer's eye has never gazed, may be ocean. If we study the *configuration* of the continents, thus amassed together, we shall see that they expand in longitude at their northern extremities, while at the south they contract into high, rocky promontories ; that the southwestern coasts of all the continents are concave, and the southeastern convex to the same degree, so that the valleys of the oceans, particularly the Atlantic, though winding, are of the same width throughout, and bounded by parallel lines ; that each of the northern continents has a southern companion subordinate to it, though, to complete this analogy, Australia must be considered as associated with Asia through the chain of islands in the Eastern Archipelago ; that the principal mountain ranges of America run north and south, and so close to the western shores as to leave very long slopes towards the Atlantic, and very sudden ones towards the Pacific ; that the grand ranges of the Old World pass east and west, with the longest slopes dipping towards the Arctic Ocean, the North Sea, and thence into the Atlantic. The American continent is of feminine proportions, slender and tapering, stretching from pole to pole into every zone of temperature, in contact everywhere with the ocean, abounding in lakes and rivers and immense plains. The eastern continents are broad and masculine ; they lie chiefly in the northern hemisphere, with their long dimensions stretching parallel to the equator. They are covered with table-lands instead of plains, and inclose vast areas entirely secluded from the ocean. Europe, however, though more shut in from the ocean than America, is almost completely surrounded by seas. It is saturated with water.

These contrasts in the astronomical position, the contours, the reliefs, or, as Professor Guyot has happily expressed it, in the anatomy of the two continents, involve others, of still greater importance in their influence on vegetables, animals, and man. To explain this, the author enters into a lucid and highly interesting exposition of the theory of the winds and currents, by which temperature and moisture are apportioned to the different parts of the earth. In a former

article, we noticed the extreme brevity with which these subjects were treated by Mrs. Somerville. Whoever will read with attention the lectures of Professor Guyot on the circulation of heat and moisture, the true lifeblood of the planet, and bear in mind what has already been said in reference to the anatomical structure of the continents, will find no difficulty in understanding why America is damp and of uniform temperature, abounding in the most luxurious vegetation, which has impeded the free growth of all animals except insects and fishes ; whereas large portions of the Eastern Continent are dry, exposed to an excessive climate, moderately rich in vegetable productions, and glorying in their stock of animals. Such, it is well known, are the general characteristics of the two grand divisions of the globe. The same continent has local peculiarities, a warm side and a dry side, a hot side and a cold side ; most of which can be satisfactorily explained when all the circumstances of figure and position are known.

With all the difference that indisputably exists in the eligibility of the various portions of the earth's surface, the design is clearly manifested of making it furnish the largest accommodation possible for the organized creation. The astronomer recognizes this design in the relative adjustment of the equator and the ecliptic. A part of the solar heat, which would pour down upon the torrid zone if the sun were always in the equator, can be better bestowed upon the polar regions. This exchange is effected by inclining the plane of the earth's rotation to the plane of its revolution round the sun. In selecting the best angle of inclination, greater weight must be obviously given to the broad equatorial belt than to the circumscribed parallels near the poles. If the mathematician would take up the problem, and bring into his account the influence of geographical peculiarities, he would find, without doubt, that the existing angle of obliquity which, as he has already demonstrated, remains essentially unchanged amid all the mutations in the other elements of the system, has been selected with the same divine geometry which teaches the bee to fashion the angles of his little cell. After astronomy has done all that it can do, the several zones will still be widely distinguished from one another, both in regard to mean temperature and the changes of the seasons. The physical geographer and the natural philosopher come now to the aid of the astronomer ; the

one teaches us, that, on account of the remarkable diathermancy of the atmosphere, the temperature of the air diminishes as we leave the ocean at the rate of about one degree of Fahrenheit for every three hundred and fifty feet of ascent ; while the other points to the fact, that the mean height of the land above the ocean increases from the poles towards the equator. The dead level at the poles, the universal presence of water with its equalizing influence on heat, and the exterior envelop of ice which is never removed, all tend to economize the scanty heat which the sun sends to these forlorn spots. If the air there is intolerably bleak, the temperature of the water underneath may be sufficient for the life of fishes. At the equator, on the contrary, lofty peaks pierce the sky, fanned by the trade-winds and fed by the bountiful moisture which drops from their wings. The traveller, who advances on the steep slopes of these tropical mountains, changes his scene as rapidly as if he could travel from the equator to the poles with the speed of a cannon-ball. He beholds, in miniature, the vegetation of all the zones ; and, at sunset, reposes his head upon snows as enduring as those which whiten the poles. After all these compensations, astronomical, physical, and geographical, a large fund of residual contrasts and differences still remains, sufficient to develop that magnificent variety in which the God of nature everywhere rejoices.

We remember, however, that Professor Guyot does not style his work "The Earth and the Organized Creation," but "The Earth and Man," or comparative physical geography in its relation to the history of mankind. This planet, with its admirably appointed halls and playgrounds, is the school in which an intellectual and moral race are to receive their education ; and God,—working by his providence, his prophets, and his holy Son, no less than by a thousand suggestions which are continually dropping into the mind of man from the stars, the ocean, the winds, the rains, the mountains, the flowing drapery of the summer, the beautiful harmonies of sunset colors,—God is his teacher. If man were like other animals,—if muscular strength, brute courage, and the gratification of his sensual nature were all that was expected of him,—then we might look to find the cradle of the infant race sheltered among the flowering forests of South America or the Indian Archipelago, covered with beds of roses, and made fragrant by the perfumed breezes of the tropics. Had

this been his easy lot, he would have remained stationary like the other animals. Such has been, and is even now, the sad fate of whole races of men, who began at the right starting-point, but who mistook the way, listening to the siren voices which spoke to them from a too abundant nature, till they were enchanted almost into beasts. These, however, were wanderers from their Father's house. That home, that early home, was in the temperate zone, where, if man will do his part, nature will do the rest, — where self-indulgence starves, but competence, independence, a consciousness of powers superior to mere material forces, and a reliance upon a paternal Providence, are the exceeding great reward of exertion. The education of man having begun in this way, it advances according to the true law of the spirit, that to him who hath shall be given, and he shall have yet more abundantly ; while to the outcast, the wanderer, who hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath. It is by no means necessary to suppose that all the races which now people the world started originally from this or from any other single spot on the earth's surface. But here, at any rate, was the home of what we may call the historical race, — of that race commissioned by Heaven to carry the light of science and Christianity to the ends of the earth. History presents to us, in a series of impressive tableaux, the advanced guard of civilization, breathing the invigorating air of the temperate zone, and pressing forward over the plains of Western Asia, by the waters of the Mediterranean, into the South of Europe, thence to the British Isles, till now the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have been crossed, and it is master of the world.

Such is the high conception which runs through the whole of Professor Guyot's work and consecrates it in the memory. It is for the student of history to say what light it throws upon many dark passages in the chronicles of his race. The antiquary may take a lesson from it in tracing the origin of languages and the entombed monuments of lost nations. The man of science will hail it as a beautiful generalization from the facts of observation. The Christian, who trusts in a merciful Providence, will draw courage from it, and hope yet more earnestly for the final redemption of the most degraded portions of mankind. Faith, science, learning, poetry, taste, in a word, genius, have liberally contributed to the production of the work under review. Sometimes we feel as if we

were studying a treatise on the exact sciences ; at others, it strikes on the ear like an epic poem. Now it reads like history, and now it sounds like prophecy. It will find readers in whatever language it may be published ; and in the elegant English dress which it has received from the accomplished pen of the translator, it will not fail to interest, instruct, and inspire.

Hitherto, in this country at least, history and physical geography, which can impart such a charm to each other, have been made distinct branches of study, to the prejudice of both, but particularly of the latter. History, in proportion as it reveals to us the passions, experiences, and fate of beings like ourselves, will always engage the heart. The details of physical geography, however interesting to the man of science, cannot be expected to enlist the love of the general reader, and especially of the young, unless they acquire vitality and interest by contact with the fortunes of the human race. Many of the facts which it teaches have no scientific meaning until they are contemplated under this relation. We congratulate, therefore, the lovers of history and of physical geography, as well as all those who are interested in the growth and expansion of our common education, that Professor Guyot contemplates the publication, from time to time, of a series of elementary works on Physical Geography, in which these two great branches of study which God has so closely joined together will not, we trust, be put asunder. As Professor of Physical Geography and History at Neuchatel in Switzerland, Mr. Guyot is accustomed to study these subjects in their interesting relations to each other ; and whatever books he shall give to the public upon these topics will be from the hands of a master.

We may inform the distant reader that these lectures, of which we are now ready to take leave, were delivered in French during the last winter at the halls of the Lowell Institute ; the same liberality which founded that institution being ever ready to dedicate it to the cause of science. The lectures were uttered without notes, and written out the morning after their delivery from memory. From these materials a translation was made by Professor Felton, and published in the Boston Evening Traveller. In this way Professor Guyot, though from the nature of the case he did not address a numerous audience, was heard and appreciated by a large reading community. If the American re-

public, by the example she presents to the world of a free, industrious, happy, and religious people, has inspired the breasts of the oppressed in Europe to venture all to secure the same blessings at home, how speedily and how richly has the debt been paid, when her revolutions have sent hither or have detained here some of her most eminent men of science ! Thus, the meditative, conservative spirit of the Old World, and the free, energetic, practical spirit of the New World, will impart of their excellence each to the other. Thus may we continue to see that higher civilization, of which Professor Guyot has so eloquently prophesied, grow on the shores of the Atlantic.

The *Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena*, by A. K. Johnston, was published at Edinburgh during the last year. It is a superb folio volume, containing thirty physical maps, with descriptions and illustrations. To those acquainted with the celebrated *Physical Atlas* of Professor Berghaus, of Potsdam, it is sufficient to say that the latter has been made the groundwork of the *Atlas* of Mr. Johnston. The maps are much enlarged above their original size, and fifteen of the thirty are wholly new. The object of a physical atlas is to represent, by lines or otherwise, to the eye all the grand physical laws of the earth, as simple geographical position is indicated on ordinary maps by the lines of latitude and longitude. In the *Atlas* of Professor Johnston, ten of the maps are devoted to Geology, six to the Hydrology of the earth, five to Meteorology, and nine to Phytology and Zoölogy.

The publication of a physical atlas, illustrative of the geography of this Western Continent, in the same magnificent style, at the expense of the government of the United States, would be a contribution to science worthy of its remarkable geographical position and its character as the representative of a free and intelligent people. In the mean while, we commend it to the consideration of Professor Guyot and his publishers, whether an economical physical atlas containing all the maps of Berghaus's *Atlas* on the same scale as the *Physical Map of the World* which he has introduced into his late publication, would not be a valuable auxiliary to the introduction of those elementary works which he has already promised. The success of the artist who has illustrated the lectures, as well as the beautiful type of the publishers, is a pledge of the excellence of any similar work which they may undertake.

J. L.

ART. VII.—THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR THEOLOGY.

[An Address, read before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 30, 1849. By EZRA S. GANNETT, D. D.]

IN selecting the subject to which I should invite your attention, brethren, I have been governed by my apprehension of the purpose of this Annual Address, as well as by personal preference. The object of the Address, I conceive, is twofold: first, to present a train of thought having connection with some of the religious aspects of the time; and secondly, to offer remarks that may provoke an amicable discussion. In both these ways may the design of our meeting, which I understand to be an increased ability of ministerial usefulness, be promoted. Your judgment will decide how far the subject I have chosen has the requisite fitness to the hour, and your candor will accept my imperfect treatment of it as a hint that the chief profit which may result from its introduction here must come through the expression it shall lead you to give to your own riper and clearer thought.

I propose to speak on the Nature and Importance of our Theology. On both these points it seems to me that unjust remarks are often made. Among us there is a depreciation of theology, for which I can hardly account; and from other quarters we hear a frequent denial of any value or substance in Unitarian theology, which does not the less grieve me because it is easily explained. Some remarks of a general character may therefore be needed to remove obstructions which lie in the way of the view I wish to take.

What is the precise office, place, or value of theology? Is it a factitious or a real importance to which it will be entitled, if we allow the claim urged by many writers in its behalf? It has been called the greatest of sciences: is this a rhetorical falsehood? Of late, it is not unusual to hear men speak of it with distrust, if not with derision; as, when our modern carpenters speak contemptuously of the oaken beams with which our forefathers framed their houses, does the craftsman's interest unconsciously warp his judgment?

What is theology? Θεοῦ λόγος, the account of God, the description which man may give of the character and gov-

ernment of that Being whose infinite will embraces all principles, methods, and results, — the Being of whose existence all truth is the reflection, of whose energy all life is the expression, of whose love all enjoyment and all hope are but streams continually fed from their Source. If we adopt this definition, we seem to be precluded from an attempt to undervalue that which, according to the very terms we use in our explanation, relates to the highest of subjects and extends over the widest reach of thought. It will be difficult to show the incorrectness of the definition. I doubt not that theology is often taken in a narrower sense by those who treat it with dishonor; but their restriction of its meaning affords them only the defence of needless or wilful ignorance. People should learn what they are aiming at, before they deal blows. Scholastic theology, we are told, cramps the mind; and so is muddy water an unwholesome beverage. Controversial theology inflames the passions; and so does water with a mixture of alcoholic spirit inflame the blood. Speculative theology chills the heart; and so does ice chill the body. But pure water, such as God gives us to drink, is healthful and needful; and the man who should denounce its use because it could be so mixed or changed, or is often so mixed or changed, as to be injurious, would bring the sanity of his mind under question. It may be said that theology is man's production, and not God's gift, and therefore must always contain more or less deleterious matter. But I would reply, that, if it were so, the analogy and the argument it includes remain good; for the purest water, when examined by the microscope, is seen to contain foreign substances not usually thought agreeable to the stomach, yet we find it refreshes and strengthens us; and in a similar way I suppose our theology may contain errors imperceptible, except on a very strict examination, whose bad effect will be neutralized by the wholesome ingredients with which they are combined. And further, theology is not wholly man's work; it is, to a certain extent, a natural product of the soul. Except in its most brutal condition, if even then, the soul cannot live without some notion of a higher Intelligence and a superior Power, and that notion is the germ of its theology.

Hence it appears to me that theology will hold its place in the world, let it be ever so much resisted or derided. Neither the world nor the individual can get along without

it. Every man has a theology of his own. He may not know it; he may not know the meaning of the word; but what then? Every man has his theory of health, though he may never have heard of physiology or dietetics. He believes that he must eat and sleep and work, or that he must avoid this or that indulgence, if he would be well, and he practises accordingly; yet were you to ask him what hygienic treatment he pursued, he might stare at you in amazement. It has been said that words are things; but people often get the things without the words they are called by. 'What can a poor woman,' it is asked, 'who must work all the day to earn bread for her children, and at night perhaps can only with much painstaking read a chapter in her Bible, know of the science of theology? What does she need to know of it? Is she not the better without it?' Of theology as a science she knows nothing, and needs to know nothing; but of that which constitutes the substance of theology she knows a great deal. Of the principles which regulate the transmission of caloric from her scanty fire through the atmosphere to her limbs, or determine the fitness of one sort of garment rather than another to protect her against the winter's cold, she is profoundly ignorant; but with the great facts and relations that exist between the fuel she consumes, the clothing she wears, and her own physical condition, she is entirely conversant. So are the great spiritual facts and relations, which are best ascertained through experience, familiar to her, although she be a stranger to the reasonings that might explain, or the principles that underlie, those facts and relations. Take away her knowledge of these, her *heart-knowledge* of them, and you leave her to a destitution of which her former poverty was not even a type, a wretchedness of which she had had no conception before, because you take from her her knowledge of God's providence and will, her faith in God, her theology.

No, it may be said, hers is what you have called it, *heart-knowledge*, while theology belongs to the mind. In the first instance, certainly; and the lowly Christian of whom we have spoken received it into her heart through her mind. The difference between her and the man who has legitimated his conclusions by reasoning and study is simply this, — that the ideas which she has received pass at once into her heart, and there become sentiments and habits, and as such, rather than as ideas, are entertained by her, while with him they

remain long, perhaps always, among the furniture of his mind and are there examined as mental conceptions. He is a theologian, she is not ; but she has a theology as well as he, and with her as well as with him its foundation is truth apprehended by the intellect. Ideas are essential to religion, — its basis, its groundwork, its fountain. There is a kind of discourse on this subject, which — I would say with all possible respect for those who use it — appears to me to be either void of meaning or full of mischief. Religion is sentiment, we are told, and not doctrine, — love, and not belief, — spiritual experience, and not intellectual discrimination. Now what sentiment is there which does not have its origin in thought, — what love, that does not flow from a belief concerning the object of the affection, — what inward experience, that can be disjoined from all intellectual activity ? The instinctive love of the parent recognizes truths respecting her child which determine the character and intensity of her affection ; the love of the child, the moment it passes beyond a mere animal clinging to the care that nourishes it, contemplates certain realities on which its little mind passes judgment. Our moral sentiments do not disown their dependence on the mind. That is the background on which they are formed, as truly the figures on the painter's canvas derive their life from what he puts behind them. Our aspirations after purity and bliss, after heaven and God, spring out of our ideas concerning God and heaven and holiness and happiness. The seraph's rapture is the fire of an intellectual conception. A religion of mere sentiment, like the watery appearances of the desert, will be found neither to afford refreshment nor to have any substance. A purely æsthetic piety, like the gorgeousness of the clouds, neither gives warmth nor promises permanence ; it is not worth talking about, in prose or in poetry. Again, we are told that religion is life, and not dogma, — obedience, and not faith ; and we assent to the remark, when interpreted as common sense and experience should teach us to receive it. The life is the essential thing ; but what consistency or practical worth will there be in a life which is not governed by fixed rules or proper motives ? and what are rules or motives but the conclusions at which the mind arrives in its inquiries after duty ? Obedience is what God requires ; but how shall we become obedient, if we remain in ignorance alike of the Being whom we should obey and the service we should ren-

der ? and how can such ignorance be removed, except by implanting in the mind certain notions respecting God and his law ? In the last analysis, the religious life must be reduced to a practical use of certain convictions which the mind accepts. They may be many or few, they may be correct or incorrect ; but on their character and strength will depend the growth, stability, and reality of the religious life.

Let me for a moment exhibit the picture of a man without any theological opinions. He, of course, believes nothing about God, nothing about Christ, nothing about the elements or sanctions of morality, nothing about immortality. He must not declare himself to be either a Trinitarian or a Unitarian, for then he would stray into the forbidden ground of theology. But, further, he must eschew, not deism or pantheism only, but theism also, for that lies on the other side of the prescribed line. He may have his notions about worldly affairs and political events, he may store his mind with all sorts of knowledge except religious knowledge, he may be just as good and spiritual as he can be without any faith in things Divine ; but the moment he attempts to vindicate his spirituality or strengthen his goodness by recurrence to the great truths of the universe, on which angels feed and which in Christ become the bread of life to every believer, a voice of solemn admonition cries, Beware ! that is the perilous domain of theology, full of briers and forests, where you will lose yourself, or become the prey of fierce sectarians ; go not there, as you value either comfort or improvement.

I do not think, brethren, that there is caricature or extravagance in this picture ; for I do not see how the dread of theology which is entertained by some persons, if it pay due respect to etymological or logical principles, can stop short of absolute atheism. It is bound in consistency to ignore all religious truth. That no one intends to proceed so far only shows that even wise and honest men do not examine with sufficient care the positions they are eager to defend. The very arguments on which such persons rely are deceptive. Jesus taught no theology, it is said. In one sense this is true. We cannot describe our Lord to our own minds as the head of a theological institution ; nor can we imagine him as filling any other capacity, or performing any other service, than just that in which he is presented by the Evangelists. One of the strongest grounds of confidence in

their narrative is the precise adaptation of the individual to the circumstances which are recorded. The living portrait could be set in no other frame. But that Jesus taught theology is just as true as that he taught morality ; nay, more, of his teaching it may be said with peculiar emphasis that it was founded on theology, — on the views he presented of the Divine character and of our relations to the Heavenly Father. How constant was his reference to God ! Whether the multitude, the disciples, or the captious scribes, were the persons whom he addressed, he brought into view the great doctrines which it was one purpose of his ministry to establish in the world. “ I came,” said he, “ to bear witness unto the truth.” The Apostles copied their Master’s example. “ Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works,” are the words of James, the champion of practical religion. I will show thee — not my works without faith, but — my faith by my works, my theology by its fruits.

No, brethren ; the attempt to decry theological studies and theological tenets will not bear examination. It is founded in mistake, and must lead to evil. The distinction often made between theology and religion is unsound and impracticable. They cannot be disjoined. They belong together, and must go together. To identify them is also a mistake, for this is confounding a part with the whole. But to separate them is like severing the trunk from the roots of the tree. The roots are not the tree, but the trunk will not grow without them ; it will not stand without them. The roots and the trunk, with all its branches, leaves, and fruit, compose the tree ; so do opinion and life, with “ whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report,” make up religion. Without opinion, the life, the character, all that is excellent or beautiful, loses its support and its sustenance. Without theology there can be no faith, no church, no religion. The heathens had their theologies. Egypt, India, Greece, Rome, Scandinavia, all had their doctrines concerning the unseen world. Without them they could have had no idolatry, no priesthood, and no worship. You may read pagan theology in Lucretius or in Ovid, in the Vedas or the Sagas, and may feel admiration, contempt, or pity for those who were satisfied with such crude conceptions of the Divinity which they enshrined, sometimes in a material emblem and sometimes in fantastic thought ; but still *there* is,

and was, their theology, which the wants and laws of human nature compelled them to form in some shape or other. Revelation has always presupposed and included theology. Adam had a theology in Paradise, and Abraham in Canaan. Moses was the greatest theologian of the ancient world. His whole system of morals, civil polity, and sacrificial worship was built upon the two fundamental tenets of all correct theology,—the unity, and self-existence of God. “Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord.” “Say unto the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you.” Theology meets us on every page of the Old Testament. The Psalms are full of it; the Prophets abound in it; even the Proverbs discard it not. The New Testament is the manual of Christian theology. The Evangelists enunciate it, the Epistles expound it. Peter preached theology on the day of Pentecost, and in the house of Cornelius; Paul preached it at Athens, and in Rome. The Bible is a theological text-book, and he who reads the Bible and contemns theology might come from the study of the heavens a disbeliever in the stars.

Theology is the noblest of studies, the sublimest of sciences. It treats of infinite attributes and infinite relations; of the Supreme Intelligence, the Eternal Reason, the Omnipresent Love; of an all-embracing, all-sustaining Providence; of the moral government of the universe, whose laws are the channels through which all experience is distributed in all worlds; of the responsibilities and destinies of the soul, its glory and its shame, its ruin and its recovery; of redemption, the fruit of God’s mercy, and of retribution, the consequence of man’s freedom; of Christ, the being in whom it was no impiety to say, “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father”; of the principles and methods of that spiritual education by which we may be trained for those higher scenes of progress into which death will introduce us; of truth, excellence, life, immortality. These are the subjects that fall within the province of theology. And now I ask, in the name of all that is right in itself or worthy of man’s attention, if these subjects ought to be slighted, or the science which includes and combines them to be disparaged? Theology opens to us the mysteries of our consciousness; unlocks for our use the treasures of the universe; places the soul amidst the harmonies of the creation; lifts it into communion with the Uncreated One. Loftiest and most com-

prehensive of studies, pathway to the fount of sempiternal light, ascent of the soul to its perfection! — what can we say of it that shall pass the bounds of sober truth?

I need not remind you, brethren, of the various uses and connections of this study. Beyond all others it is fitted to expand, enrich, and strengthen the mind; not only by furnishing it with the grandest conceptions, but by leading it into the most profound inquiries, and compelling it to use the most rigid processes of thought. Captious critics, and sour bigots, and poor reasoners, and vain pretenders we may find turning this noble science to miserable ends; but bad husbandry does not bring agriculture into disrepute, nor the follies of socialists and anarchists drive the world to disown liberty. It is impossible for one to bestow close examination on such subjects as I have indicated, or to meditate on them with the reverential delight which they are suited to inspire, and not gain intellectual force. Theological investigation is the healthiest employment of the mind. Besides, all other science should be pursued in the light which such investigation casts upon it. A man is but half taught, in physics or ethics or politics, who has not learned to connect the agency of God with all that is or should be. Which commands the more sincere admiration, which showed himself the wiser interpreter of nature, Newton or Laplace? I will not insist, however, on these general relations of theological truth. Let me say but a word of its connection with personal character and professional life.

Theology gives us some definite opinions on which to erect our purposes and habits. Without such opinions, how can you trust a man? — how can any one trust himself? Let him be “carried about with every wind of doctrine,” and all he will be good for is to show in what direction the currents of the popular belief tend. Let him be “ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth,” and the Apostle shall tell us whom he will resemble, — “silly women, laden with sins.” Let him, having “proved all things, hold fast that which is good,” and you may feel some confidence in his stability. I am not now contending in behalf of any one system of faith, but only for some settled, well-defined religious belief. I can respect a sincere attachment to any faith, Catholic or Protestant; I can see how a man may extract spiritual nourishment out of poisonous errors, if he believe them to be God’s holy truth, for to him they

become Divine and holy, and their noxious quality is neutralized by his imputation to them of a character which they do not deserve ; but I cannot for the life of me understand how a man who has no fixed opinions, no creed which his own thought has written out, can have any solid basis of character. All practical religion, all personal piety, must have a doctrinal basis. There is nothing on earth so powerful, so efficacious, as a religious conviction. It may be utterly false, or wildly extravagant ; only let the mind embrace it as true, and it will fill that mind with religious purpose and religious aspiration. Calvinism produces spiritual results by establishing in the soul a belief in God's sovereignty ; Universalism, by establishing a belief in God's benevolence ; but unless a man believe something, and know that he believes it, and know what it is that he believes, his penitence, his devotion, his hope, are only shadows cast upon his mind by the passing influences of life.

Look next at the effect which the want of a clearly ascertained religious belief must have on our professional life. It will deprive it of all consistency, energy, efficiency. Brethren, what have we to do in our ministry, but to unfold the mysteries of Divine truth to the ignorant, the careless, the troubled, and the sinful ? But how can we unfold what we have not ourselves examined ? If ours were only a perfunctory service, if all we must do to save our own souls or the souls of others were to repeat a form of worship and utter commonplaces of instruction without considering how much they import, we might not need to acquaint ourselves with theology ; but if we mean to enlighten, persuade, or comfort the people, we must carry in our own minds answers to the questions they will put to us, — we must be theologians. It is sad to think how many enter the ministry without any well arranged and established doctrinal persuasions, and how many, after entering on the duties of the ministerial life, neglect the studies which are most intimately connected with the employment they have chosen. Men whose office it is to expound the highest truths of consciousness and experience achieve eminence by their classical attainments or their historical researches, which, if they pursue only as a relaxation from severer labors, may entitle them to such measure of gratitude or praise as we bestow on one who makes a wise use of his leisure ; but when they prefer such occupation to strictly

professional studies, they betray at least a singular judgment concerning the nature of the work which they have undertaken. What should we think of a civil engineer, who should spend his time in sketching landscapes? The disrepute into which dogmatic and critical theology has fallen, is in no way creditable to us. If such works as Calvin's Institutes, and Edwards's Treatises, and the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, were more read, we should be abler ministers of the New Testament. They would set us on thinking, and give to our preaching more substance. Those Bodies of Divinity, of which it has become a fashion to speak with contempt, contained learning and thought and argument, before which the superficial discussions of our day appear as might one of our modern cottages placed near a deserted castle of the feudal ages. Forsaken and neglected, of what massive materials was it constructed, by what patient industry must it have been reared! Once, a man must write a book, too hard, perhaps, for many to read, if he would gain a reputation for professional diligence; now, if he publish a discourse which has some novelty of expression, the land rings with his fame. Our theological publications pass through the pulpit in their way to the press; they may be heavy, but they cannot be very bulky.

What is it that has brought theology into such discredit? Something we may charge to the impatient and superficial character of the age. Something to the cold, technical forms of thought, the dry and abstruse argumentation, the stiff, despotic creeds, of which theology has been the parent. Something to the notion, that religion has been made by us too much an exercise of the understanding, and too little an experience of the heart. The more common justification, however, of a neglect of the clergyman's appropriate studies is, that they either engender skepticism, or beget dogmatism and produce controversy, and in either case render his preaching less useful and his influence less valuable. Let us look a moment at this statement of the probable effects of an interest in theological studies. First, they unsettle one's belief. Very well; there is no harm in that, for if it could be unsettled by examination, it was not held on any proper ground of confidence. But they lead the mind, it is said, into the midst of perplexities from which it cannot find its way out. That is a mistake; it can find its way out, just as it found its way in, — by going on. Let it examine

farther, and it will come to some clear ground. It will get some faith of its own; and a grain of such faith has more of the virtue of the grain of mustard-seed in our Lord's parable, than the largest amount of inherited belief. But does a disuse of the methods of theological inquiry prevent a skeptical or changeful mood of mind? Who are they that—in the face of the Scriptural counsel to “leave the principles of the doctrine of Christ,” as the mathematical student leaves the elementary principles of his science, and “go on unto perfection”—are always “laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of baptism and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection from the dead, and of eternal judgment,” as if nothing were settled, nothing clear; who are they that now lean in this direction, now in that, and of whom it is difficult to say what is the average amount of their faith, to-day they believe so much, and to-morrow so little? They are not the men who toil in the mines of theological science; they belong to another division of the Christian body.

Controversy, however, springs up on the field of doctrinal investigation. Be it so. There are worse things than controversy. Angry or unfair disputation is not an evil only, it is a sin; but men may state and defend their differences of belief without unfairness or ill-temper. Controversial preaching, we are told, is not what the people want. Perhaps not; and the pulpit, we admit, is not the place for sectarian warfare. But doctrinal preaching the people need, alike for its own sake and for its connection with their religious exercises and spiritual improvement.

Controversy may be conducted in a good spirit. A Christian may esteem his own opinions as God's blessed truth, and yet allow to another an equal right to hold his opinions in the same regard. Candor and faith do not turn each other out of doors. The clearer the convictions an individual entertains, the more likely is he to respect the honest convictions of another mind; and the more laborious the process by which he has arrived at the results that give his own mind peace, the more able and the more disposed will he be to do justice to another's satisfaction in the results to which similar toil has led him. Dogmatism is an offence against the rights of man and the order of society, but it is the vice of the sciolist rather than the student. It no more belongs to the theologian than pedantry to the scholar.

We need not dread the effects of distinct theological opinion. Dread rather that indolence or timidity, which shuns investigation, and that vagueness of conception which beholds Christian truths only as the blind man, who, before our Lord had restored his full sight, saw "men as trees walking." Precision and accuracy of thought should be desired by every believer. So many questions will remain in regard to which he can only approximate to a confident result, that he should endeavour to settle to his own satisfaction as many points as possible. The methods by which such satisfaction may be obtained are various. One may trust most to logical deductions, another to Scriptural authorities, and a third to prayer ; while he will be wiser than them all, who to careful reasoning and Biblical study shall add earnest supplication to be guided into all truth. But let no one be content to remain without decision and without curiosity on the subjects on which, by any or all of these methods, he may reach the comfort of a clear and firm faith. Let the private Christian, for his own sake, bring his belief to the test of an explicit statement. Let the preacher arrange and rectify his own conclusions for the sake of the people whom he addresses. Instruction is the first office of the pulpit, — first in order of time, if not first in importance. The minister who will leave the deepest mark on his congregation is not he who ravishes them by his eloquence or excites in them the strongest emotion, but he who succeeds in communicating to them the ideas which they incorporate with their intellectual and moral growth. Especially is this true in New England. I believe there is no kind of preaching to which a New England audience listen with so much pleasure, as to a clear and forcible enunciation of truth. The sermons of the late Dr. Emmons, I suppose, would be styled by many persons dry, technical, unprofitable ; and yet he held the attention of a large society through the Sundays of half a century by such preaching, and impressed himself indelibly on the minds of two generations. Fidelity to the work to which we have consecrated ourselves forbids us to give "an uncertain sound" when we discourse on the great themes of God's law and man's hope, Christ's sacrifice and the world's redemption.

The objection sometimes brought against a systematic religious belief, that it throws a chain around the mind, and prevents its approach to the perfect truth, is founded in mis-

apprehension. The advocates of a progressive theology need not anticipate the disappointment of their hope as a consequence of precision in the statement of opinions. If by *a progressive theology* be meant a loose, unstable belief, without fixed principles or definite conclusions, then all that I am saying is intended to show the evils to which it would give rise. But if by this phrase be meant a constant approximation to a complete view of spiritual truth, to an exact measurement of the circle of which, taking man as the centre, God will be the circumference,—a result to which, from the finite nature of our powers, we can only approximate,—then the admission of certain positive ideas is necessary, as the point from which we shall advance. In maintaining the importance of established opinions, I do not contend for an unchangeable belief. In ascribing to theology the character of a science, I do not claim for it, as it lies before our minds—or any but the Infinite Mind—absolute perfection. All science is progressive. The discovery of new facts calls for new generalizations; principles which were regarded as settled may need to be revised; and not only must the mistakes of former times be corrected, but the student must continually seek to rectify or justify his own conclusions by a more thorough investigation. The botany, the chemistry, the political economy of our day is in a very different state from that in which it appeared under Linnæus, or Lavoisier, or Adam Smith; yet in their times these studies were included within the circle of the sciences. We speak of geology as a science, although its fundamental principles are still open to discussion. Yet we expect of every student of this science, and especially of every geological teacher, that he will have adopted some one or other theory by which to explain and arrange the facts that come under his notice. In like manner the student in theology, and especially the theological teacher,—and such is every Christian minister by virtue of his office,—must take some fundamental truths as settled, at least to his own satisfaction, that he may establish either order or connection among the moral facts and spiritual ideas which present themselves to his mind. We do not affirm that our theology is perfect in all its parts; we hope it will gain more accuracy of definition and more breadth of view. But we should be careful to avoid that style of discourse which conveys the impression, if it do not directly teach, that the free mind must

believe nothing very confidently or very long. Free inquiry finds its point of departure in humble faith. The bigot and the skeptic represent the two extremes, between which lies the true position of the Christian. He is a *believer*; that is the name given to him in the New Testament, — “Be thou an example of the believers.” What answer can he whose religious persuasions are undetermined give to any one “that asketh a reason of the hope that is in” him? The great facts of theological science do not lie in obscurity; its essential truths are universally admitted: these, at least, we may embrace with the strongest and heartiest faith. And beyond these, every one should have accepted certain definitions and results, which, though he may hereafter be compelled to modify them, he now regards as correct. It seems to me that this is a true statement of the relations between faith, freedom, and progress.\*

That which I have now endeavoured to establish in regard to the individual, whatever capacity he may hold in the Church, is true of any denomination that would exert a direct and worthy influence. It must have a theology of its own, which can be stated in intelligible language, and be reduced to scientific propositions. There are but two methods which a sect can adopt to secure a permanent existence. One is a distinctive theology, and the other a peculiar ecclesiastical organization. The latter alone will not give it strength, for organization is only the external pressure that gives shape to a body. There must be a vital element, and that can be found only in its doctrine. Men cannot be made to care very much for a form, so long as they view it as no more than a form; but let them regard it as the symbol of a truth, and they will die for it. Any denomination that shall make itself felt in the world must have a theology which it can call its own, and by which it shall be distinguished from every other sect. Presbyterianism owes its energy, not to its book of Discipline, but to its formularies of faith. The Church of England stands not upon its Liturgy, but on its Thirty-Nine Articles. From Rome to Nauvoo, it is its doctrinal belief that has given to every church or denomination its stability. *We* cannot evade the force of a law to which all other religious bodies

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\* The preceding paragraph, and one or two others near the close, have been added since the delivery of the Address, as being necessary to a fair exhibition of the subject.

have been obliged to submit. We must have a theology of our own, or we shall perish, and ought to perish.

We have such a theology. On its importance I need not enlarge, after the length to which the previous remarks have been extended; for if they have been just, they have prepared us to acknowledge the importance of "holding fast the faithful word, as we have been taught, that we may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." Of its nature, however, you will allow me to add something to what has been already said.

We have a theology, that is, we have certain definite and fixed opinions, — we, who belong to this Conference, — we, and the churches and the portion of the community which we represent. There is a name by which we are designated, whether we like it or not; and which, whether we use it or not, is never uttered in our hearing without reminding us of certain points of doctrinal agreement and difference, — agreement among ourselves, and difference from others, — by which we are therefore distinguished. There is a Unitarian theology. It includes our faith in God, in Christ, in man; in the moral character and the final issues of the present life; in the Father whom we worship, in the Son whom we honor, in the Holy Spirit which we receive; in our own capacity, and frailty; in the vileness and peril of sin; in the Gospel as a Divine gift; in progress as the law of man's being, and in perfection as its end; in spiritual renovation, and spiritual experience; in love as the great principle of sanctification, and in eternal life as its consequence and reward. I would not be guilty of the presumption of forming a creed for others; but is there one of us, brethren, that would hesitate to acknowledge these as articles of his belief? They constitute the framework of our theology. They include the revealed, fundamental, vital truths of religion. Where is your Unitarian theology? it is said. In the Bible, we reply. In our hearts, again we reply. And I would add, Here, in the doctrines of which I have now given the briefest statement. The existence, perfection, and unity of God, the universality and tenderness of his providence, the integrity of his government, the Divine authority of Jesus of Nazareth, the perpetual obligation of obedience, the efficacy of repentance, the exercise of mercy as sealed to the believer in the blood of the cross, the certainty of retribution, the promise of immortality, — are these empty words,

or disconnected phrases? Is there no substance nor consistency in these forms of thought? We have a theology, — a definite, compact theology. We “believe,” and therefore have we “spoken,” and by God’s grace will continue to speak, of the precious faith which unites us in a holy brotherhood.

The conditions of a sound theology, besides its reasonableness and its Scriptural origin, in both which respects we claim for our faith the superiority over other forms of belief, are, that it be positive, consistent, and efficacious. Ours is a positive theology. It consists in affirmation, not in denial. “The Unitarians have only a negative faith,” say religious journalists and Christian preachers all over the country; and the people believe them, — for who ought to be believed, if not ministers and editors of religious papers? And yet a more palpable falsehood never came from the pen or tongue of mortal man. Because the Unitarians do not believe all that other Christians believe, and moreover one of them years ago wrote a book which he entitled “A Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians,” therefore their faith is altogether negative! Conclusive proofs, truly! Look at the enumeration of our articles of faith; there is not one word of denial in them; they are all affirmative propositions. The denial of a three-fold distinction in the Divine nature, or of man’s total depravity, or of a vicarious atonement, is not a part of our theology. The contents of a vessel are not what you pour out of it, but what you leave in it.

It is not only on one side that I hear the declaration, that we have no theology. Ever and anon, a lament over this want arises among ourselves, and a hope is expressed that the time will come when we shall not be all afloat on the sea of speculation. I deny that we are in this state now. Our theology at this very moment is better settled than the theology of half the Protestant sects about us. Will any one tell me what is incontrovertible doctrinal truth in the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, or the Congregational churches, — not what are the phrases they agree to use, but what are the ideas they invariably connect with those phrases? Our theology is not so indistinct as some among us represent it to be. In regard to the attributes of the Divine character, for example, we speak with as much clearness and exactness as any body of Christians. Our views of

human nature, while on some metaphysical questions we differ from one another, are not only negatively, but positively, definite. We have a theory, — be it true or false, — we have what we believe to be a true and adequate theory of regeneration ; and a theory, be it true or false, of retribution. We can state in explicit terms — whether right or wrong — the relation which, as we conceive, the mission and death of Christ hold to the sinner's forgiveness and the soul's salvation. It would lead me too far from my immediate purpose, or I might show how, on every one of the great points of religious interest, our conceptions are not less distinct, and are much more uniform, than those which we find in other denominations. A single illustration may not be improper. The doctrine of atonement is regarded by most believers as the central point of the Gospel. Now, on the one hand, let me remind you of the various theories which have been broached by zealous advocates, from the most offensive scheme of imputation to the latest resolution of the whole mystery into an objective illusion, and, on the other hand, describe our plain and Scriptural ground of "joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement." According to the ideas which enter into our faith, God freely forgives the penitent who with a true heart takes up a new life. He forgives, that is, he no longer regards him as an offender. In consequence of man's voluntary change, the relations which existed between him and God are changed. God now accepts him as an obedient child, and he contemplates God as his tender Father. Mercy, which is the exercise of kind regards towards one who has merited rejection and condemnation, is declared by Christ to be waiting in the Divine mind to put on its fullest expression when the sinner shall humble himself in repentance ; and he, believing the truth of this declaration, as not only uttered by the lips, but sealed in the blood, of the Lord Jesus, seizes on that mercy, is reconciled to God, and obtains a hope full of glory. Here is an intelligible explanation of the atonement. Other Christians require something more ; they add the idea of a vicarious sacrifice, or some device by which the Heavenly Father may forgive the contrite sinner without impairing the integrity of his own character. *We* say that a free pardon on sincere repentance flows from the eternal perfection of God's character, and is a necessary fact in his moral government of mankind. With the rest

of the Christian world, we believe in mercy, and forgiveness, and faith, and repentance, as constituting the essential ideas that belong to the atonement, and differ from them in rejecting another idea which they have attempted to add, but which they have never yet been able to define to their mutual satisfaction. This single example is a sufficient refutation of the charge, that we have no settled or positive theology. We have theology enough, — good, true, Bible theology ; and it is a shame to ignore or undervalue it.

And ours is a consistent as well as a positive theology. Its truths do not contradict one another, but have the essential characteristic of a science, — that they support and depend upon one another. The one recommendation of Calvinism is the mutual relation of its parts. Begin where you may, if you admit one point, you must admit the rest. And yet the internal harmony of Calvinism is artificial and mechanical, the correspondence to each other of the parts of a contrivance which man has made, the jointing and dovetailing of human hands, and not the natural dependence upon one another which we observe, for example, in the different portions of a plant. The singular beauty and excellence of our theology is, that its parts cohere with all the solidity, without the technical arrangement, of a system. As in the teaching of Jesus truths lie scattered about in apparent isolation, which a closer study of his life and an insight into his method of instruction show to have affinities that bring them into spiritual order, so do our doctrinal statements, beneath what seems to a superficial observer to be the independence of disconnection, maintain a union among themselves and produce a unity of impression upon the mind of the believer. Around the central fact of man's being, the great truths of Divine beneficence, mercy, and judgment, and all the associated doctrines of the Christian faith, arrange themselves by a law, I will not say, of moral crystallization, but of spiritual attraction.

And while our theology recommends itself to the scientific inquirer by its positive character and its self-consistency, it has the still higher merit of adaptation to the ends for which it is needed. Its moral power is its glory. It is able to make men "wise unto salvation." Presenting truths which the reason may approve and the intellect ponder, still this is not its highest office. It places these truths before the soul in an attitude which compels its submission.

Truths are they, which quicken and invigorate the conscience, warm and cleanse the heart, at once control and sustain the will. A theology, this of ours, for the student in his closet, but not for the man who lives in the world, — for the calm thinker, but not for the man of impetuous feelings and strong passions! Let him whose propensities need restraint, or who is surrounded by temptation, believe in the presence of a holy God, the majesty of the Divine law, or the claims of infinite love upon the gratitude and obedience of our race, and especially of every one to whom Christ has brought the revelation of the Father, — let him with an intelligent and cordial faith believe in the realities which we offer to his contemplation, and they will and must influence him. He will “stand in awe, and sin not.” The practical character of our belief entitles it to special regard. There is not a truth included among its articles that does not affect the dispositions or habits of the believer. There is not a want of the soul which it does not relieve.

Unitarian theology, therefore, has the three marks by which we distinguish that which is sound and true from the false. But again, if any one ask what are its truths, the answer may be, that they are the truths on which the various bodies of Christians concur. They are the common Christianity of all sects. By our positive views of doctrine, we are brought into sympathy with the universal Church. Where, then, is our peculiar theology? Why, just here. The peculiarity of our belief consists in our making the Christianity of all denominations the true exposition of the Gospel. It is painful to remark how slow men are in perceiving that our elevation of the current opinions of the Church into the place of essential truths of religion, and our refusal to allow any other opinions to share this distinction, may constitute as decisive a peculiarity as any novelty of statement or vehemence of expression. It is peculiar to us, it distinguishes us, that we make the catholic belief the true belief. If we alone maintain the sufficiency of this belief, what can more distinctly mark us than this very fact? The substantial difference between us and other Christians, I conceive, lies not so much in diversity of opinion upon certain questions of dogmatic theology as in the recognition by us of the right of every sincere follower of Jesus to the name and hope of a Christian, to whatever denomination he may belong, while others require the exercise or expression of faith

in certain tenets peculiar to themselves. We of course prefer our own interpretation of Scripture, and wish that every one might see with us that it is the proper interpretation ; we consider many of the errors that prevail around us pernicious. But we do not think that any one, whose heart is searched and his life controlled by the great truths which the various Christian bodies accept, can be in fatal error. The essential theology, therefore, according to us, is found in all these bodies ; and this essential theology being, as I have said, that which remains after we have thrown away what gives a special character to the symbols of these several bodies, our peculiarity consists in making the common faith of the Church the essential faith of the believer. This seems to members of other communions a very meagre faith, — nothing but what every Christian believes ! Once concurrence with those who constituted the household of the saints was regarded as a just ground of satisfaction ; but now, unless one add something to the common inheritance, he is thought to have “ denied the faith ” and to be “ worse than an infidel.” It is made of little account to adore the incomprehensible greatness of God, unless one also believes in a certain mode of the Divine existence ; to prostrate one’s self in gratitude before the cross of the Redeemer, unless he accept a particular explanation of the efficacy of his death ; to tremble under the sense of moral responsibility, and the consciousness of sin, unless he admit that we are wholly ruined and incapable of ourselves to take a step towards a holy life ! How is it possible to put greater dishonor on the fundamental truths of religion, than to pronounce them, not only logically incomplete, but morally inadequate ?

I may detain you, brethren, only while, in a very few words, I remind you of the importance of this our peculiar theology. The remarks which were made in an earlier part of this Address were intended to show that some fixed principles of belief are indispensable alike to an individual and to a denomination. There are some considerations that render our doctrinal exposition of Christianity worthy of our fondest regard, to which I may advert in conclusion.

First, it gives us just the unity and force as a denomination which we need. There is no other ground of unity on which we can erect the temple of concord. Attempts have been made again and again to take our love of freedom

as the basis of union ; but it is too broad a basis. It occupies too much ground for the superstructure. Some of us prefer the title of Liberal Christians to any other designation, because it expresses our candor and especially our attachment to the great, miscalled Protestant, principle of the right of private judgment ; but it is not the name by which we may best be described. It does not define, does not limit us enough. If love of religious liberty be the ground of our denominational union, then Christians of every denomination may belong to us ; for there are many in every church who prize their own freedom as dearly, and are as prompt to respect the rights of others, as we. Nay, men of no Christian denomination may belong to us ; for the love of mental freedom may burn in the breasts of those who have not entered into visible connection with any body of believers. Nay, further, free-thinkers of every name and every class, men who stand in antagonism to everything but liberty, may belong to us ; for they may all be actuated by a sincere regard for the rights of thought and of conscience. Now I have no objection to a union of all sorts of men on this basis. It may have its advantages and its pleasures, but the union which we need is of a different kind. Our sympathy and coöperation must have a basis of doctrinal agreement. I care little for the name we may take or be known by ; perhaps it was an unwise choice which, in its result, has doomed us to be called, if we are called by any distinctive appellation, Unitarians. But that our union, our existence as a body acting together in mutual confidence and for certain great purposes, must rest on our theological persuasions, appears to me just as clear as that the union of the States which compose our republic must rest, not on the common love of civil liberty which animates the hearts of the people, nor on any circumstances of geographical position or historical association, but on the principles, the integrity, and the authority of that Constitution which the people of these United States have agreed to take as the expression and security of their political connection.

Hence I find in this basis of union the support of all lawful and laudable sectarian action. I believe that such action is right and best. I believe in sectarianism as a legitimate consequence of an earnest faith. What was told us last evening, by a layman who has looked at these subjects from

a different point of observation from that which we, under professional influences, are apt to take? He told us — it was not a new thought, but it was a true one — that what a man esteems to be the gospel is his gospel; and that what he values as God's most precious gift he should be anxious to communicate to others. This is sectarianism, — warm and practical attachment to a certain interpretation of the Christian records, in which an individual agrees with some persons, and differs from others. Of this sectarianism I wish the country and the world were full. I love to see a zealous Methodist. I love to see in a member of the Roman Catholic Church a profound reverence for that Church. Faith, zeal, labor, proselytism, — I can understand, respect, and admire them all; but I cannot reconcile lukewarmness with a well-settled belief, or with a just appreciation of God's holy and gracious truth. There is a dread of sectarianism which bears so strong a resemblance to religious apathy or moral cowardice, that, if I did not know it belonged to some excellent men, I should mistake it for a vice. Let a man speak and act as if he prized what he receives as Divine truth. Let him desire for others a participation with himself in its comforts and hopes. Let him expend generous and vigorous effort in diffusing around him, through the land, over the world, the doctrines which he associates with the being of a God and the mediation of Christ. Let him join heart and hand with those who accept the same doctrines; and while he loves all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, let his action be most strenuous, his connection most close, with those with whom he can act most freely, and yet most cordially. Such a sectarianism as this I should rejoice to see on every side. It would make us all better Christians. It would fill the earth with the knowledge of the Lord, and carry out the spirit of the prayer which we learned in our childhood, — “Thy kingdom come,” — and of that other prayer which was uttered amidst the sympathies of the last night of the Saviour's ministry, — “I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.”

For such a sectarianism does not produce bitterness or strife, but, on the contrary, nourishes a spirit of candor and Christian brotherhood. It may sound paradoxical, but I believe it is undeniably true, that an enlightened sectarianism is the root from which must spring a true charity: because an enlightened sectarianism, being founded on an intelligent

acquaintance with both the principles and the grounds of the belief which it cherishes, and also with the principles and grounds of the various forms of belief around it, cannot be betrayed into injustice through ignorance, nor be led into a passionate defence of its own positions by a consciousness of inability to maintain them by calm and clear argument. And further still, it allows and respects in others the rights which it exercises itself, and thinks all the better of a theological opponent for his open and resolute vindication of his own faith. Bigots are generally men of narrow habits of thought, of little study, and very imperfect theological education. A man whose conclusions are the result of careful investigation will seldom be irritated by the remarks of others, and will never deny to them the privilege of independent thought.

But most of all do I value our theological tenets for the spiritual quality and efficacy which I have ascribed to them. They are "the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Beyond any other system of faith or interpretation of the sacred volume are they suited to expand and elevate the affections, to form the character to a solid and lofty excellence, to clothe the soul in the beauty of holiness, and to adorn the life with the graces of piety and philanthropy. Truth is the instrument of human regeneration and perfection. "Sanctify them," said Jesus, "by thy truth." This truth, if we hold it, as I believe we do, more distinctly and exclusively than any other body of Christians, needs only to penetrate our hearts, and lay its mandates on our consciences, to make us children of the Highest, and partakers even now of the inheritance of the saints in light. We have seen what it can exhibit as the fruit of its influence here on earth. We have known those who were worthy to be called after the name of the Divine Teacher and perfect Model of spiritual excellence, who gratefully regarded this truth as the source of all the strength, peace, goodness, or usefulness they had been able to acquire or manifest. The world has never seen examples of a nearer approach to perfection than we have beheld among those who have gone from us. I need not name them. Their remembrance is written on our hearts. By the memories of the departed we are bound to the theology which they used for their souls' improvement and recompense. By our duty to the present and our interest in the future are we also taught to advocate this theology, and to send it abroad

for the good of others. The world waiteth in hope, that "it may be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Here is the means of that deliverance. We look down the ages of coming time, not with the prophet's inspired glance, but with the Christian's clear vision, and we see struggle and conflict, impatience and disappointment, delay and disaster; but we see also, among the elements of confusion and suffering, one form that directs the energies of the people, subdues their restlessness, brings them out of their sorrows, and guides them to God and heaven through the knowledge of the blessed Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ; — and that form is the theology which presides over our deliberations, and animates our sympathies, and determines our efforts.

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ART. VIII. — CALIFORNIA.\*

THE list of books given below (it might have been made much longer) will show that there is already quite an extensive Californian literature, — more extensive than valuable. Most of the books which relate to California have been composed from materials collected before the importance of that country was known or anticipated, and the amount of information contained in them is necessarily meagre. They were written rather because a great demand for information had arisen, than because the authors had much to impart. California is a vast region. Only very small portions of it have been thoroughly explored, and immense districts are as yet

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\* 1. *Western America, including California and Oregon, with Maps of those Regions, and of the "Sacramento Valley."* From actual Surveys. By CHARLES WILKES, U. S. N., Commander of the U. S. Exploring Expedition. Philadelphia. 1849. 8vo. pp. 130.

2. *Oregon and California in 1848.* By J. QUINN THORNTON, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon. With an Appendix, including Recent and Authentic Information on the Subject of the Gold Mines of California, and other Valuable Matter of Interest to the Emigrant, &c. : with Illustrations and a Map. New York. 1849. Two vols. 12mo. pp. 393, 397.

3. *The Gold Mines of the Gila. A Sequel to "Old Hicks the Guide."* By CHARLES W. WEBBER, Author of "Jack Long, or Shot in the Eye," etc., etc. New York. 1849. Two vols. 12mo.

4. *The California and Oregon Trail : being Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN, JR. New York. 1849. 12mo. pp. 448.

entirely unknown. We do not propose in this paper to give even a summary of what is really known respecting the harbours, soil, climate, agricultural productions, and physical aspects of the country. We wait till the public shall become more interested in these topics, and our materials more ample and satisfactory. At present a single fact absorbs almost the whole attention of those who think and speak of California, — the fact, namely, that gold abounds there.

It is hardly to be doubted any longer by the most incredulous, that gold exists in California to an extent not surpassed, if equalled, in the history of the precious metals. Every passing week brings confirmation of the fact. On account of the facility of communication, these few months have given us more and better evidence of the mineral resources of California than was obtained in Europe in as many years respecting the wealth of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. Already the spirit of enterprise is directed towards the valley of the Sacramento, with a promptness and energy of movement that are without a parallel in the history of colonization, or mercantile and industrial adventure. It is only about one year since the first official announcement of this discovery of gold; and already, while we write, it is estimated that not fewer than thirty thousand persons from the United States have collected there, or are on their way by the Isthmus, by Cape Horn, or directly across the continent. The western shores of America, the islands of the Pacific, and the East Indies, have sent their multitudes, which we have not the means of estimating. Ships laden with gold-seekers are leaving all the ports of Europe. Before the close of the present season, it is not unlikely that one hundred thousand persons will be found scattered over the gold region, to say nothing of the numbers which, for the general purposes of commerce, must necessarily accompany and follow so large a non-producing population.

So large a movement, for objects so peculiar, presents many points of interest, financial, social, and moral. Many persons look upon it with unqualified reprobation. They see only evil in it, — present infatuation and prospective ruin, derangement of the currency, moral deterioration for all concerned in it, famine, fever, robbery, and death, awaiting the deluded victims of a criminal cupidity and a misdirected spirit of adventure, and the curse of a bad origin fixed for ever upon the future State of California.

We are disposed to take a more hopeful view of the sub-

ject. The evils and dangers are obvious and great. At first we were able to see little else in the prospect. We do not overlook them now ; but it seems to us good philosophy to look beyond them, and consider also what is good and legitimate in an enterprise which Providence plainly indicates as one of the leading movements of the present generation for this country. In making it the subject of some remarks, we wish to contemplate it in a spirit equally removed from narrow timidity and moral laxity, without too much confidence in man, or too much distrust of God.

Gold is one of the good gifts of the Creator, designed, like all his bounties, for human use. Mankind have always attached a high relative value to this metal, on account of its beauty, purity, and the many qualities which give it a great superiority in matters of art and ornament, — these qualities being taken in connection with the fact that the supply has been very limited. It was early adopted as a currency and common measure of value, for which use it has many advantages over other substances ; such as that it comprises large value in a small bulk, is so divisible, is incorruptible by time and exposure, that its purity can be easily tested and verified by coinage, and that it has been less subject than almost any other commodity to be influenced by the causes which produce fluctuation in value. The use of it as money was not what gave it its value ; but it was adopted as money because it had an intrinsic value, and a value more uniform and more universally recognized than any other single product of the ground. It is obvious, that, if the article used as the measure of values should itself vary much and often, all trade would be subject to constant fluctuations of the most disastrous kind. The discoveries in America by the Spaniards so much increased the amount of gold in Europe, according to Mr. Hume, as to reduce it to one fourth or one third of its previous relative value ; or, which is saying the same thing, to raise the prices of all commodities to three or four times their previous point.\* According to Humboldt's estimate, the annual accession of gold to the stock previously existing in Europe was for a long period about \$11,000,000. Mr. Mill says that the fall in the value of gold and silver after the discovery of America is the only authenticated instance in history ; and in that case the change was extremely gradual, being spread over a period of many years.†

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\* Hume's Essays, I. p. 308.

† Polit. Econ., II. p. 5.

It has been supposed by some, that the recent discoveries in California will so increase the quantity of the precious metals as to disturb the existing balance of values among all kinds of property. But when we consider that for a series of years the annual production of gold and silver in Europe, America, and Russian Asia has amounted to \$ 30,000,000,\* without causing a perceptible rise in the prices of commodities, and also how small a proportion the product of a year must bear to the whole amount previously extant, and how, on account of the constantly extending population and trade of the world, there is required a constant increase of production in order to keep values where they are, it is plain that any disturbance of the existing scale from this cause must come, if at all, by scarcely perceptible degrees. To desire or to fear any such disturbance would be weakness and folly; and any speculations based on the anticipation of it, in a period of enthusiasm, would probably but raise another of the series of bubbles, which, in one form or another, have been played off so brilliantly in every age, to the ruin of so many who have chased them.

The increase and diffusive growth of any species of convertible wealth, we have always a right to expect, will promote the welfare of mankind. If these new mines should continue to be as productive as they are alleged to be now, and the quantity of gold in the world should be greatly enlarged thereby, we cannot but presume that in the end it will prove a blessing. When it shall have become distributed through the channels of commerce, and is spread, unrestricted, over the world-wide field of business, we cannot see why it must not contribute, as so much added capital, to the support and invigoration of industry, in subduing the wilderness, enriching the ground, facilitating the transportation and exchange of all products, extending the arts, and so multiplying the various resources for man's earthly well-being. Upon the established principles of political economy, these benefits are to be looked for as the ultimate effect of the opening of any new source of wealth, whether it be gold or anything else, and gold as much as anything else.

The *ultimate* effect, we say. But in the mean time, the past experience of the world abundantly warns us that the process of first acquiring and distributing these golden treasures

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\* See M'Culloch on the Precious Metals.

may be anything but beneficial to the individuals directly engaged in it, or the communities most immediately interested in and affected by the adventure. We cannot overlook the uniform testimony of history, which declares that the industry and enterprise employed directly in searching for the precious metals have certain more demoralizing tendencies than the pursuit of wealth in other modes. In no other pursuit is the acquisition of property supposed to be immediately accompanied by so few of the legitimate benefits of wealth, or by so many of its corrupting effects. "Of all the methods," says the historian Robertson, "by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or who are so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that Fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give up the wealth which they contain to their wishes, they deem every other occupation uninteresting and insipid. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper." This historian represents that the steady, the thrifty, and the contented, being subjected to this powerful temptation, become unsettled in all their plans, are filled with unwonted and inappeasable longings, and lose all their good habits and reasonable ideas for ever. "It is observed," he says, "that if any person once enters this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return; his ideas alter, — he seems to be possessed with another spirit, — visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, — and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else."\* Such warnings are not to be overlooked by those who would survey thoroughly the moral aspects of this leading movement of our day.

We are warned, further, that the country into which a golden stream is most immediately poured is liable to suffer degeneracy and impoverishment under the influence of the acquisition. The case of Spain, if it be of any authority under so great a change of circumstances, is of fearful omen.

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\* Robertson's America, Book VIII.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, Spain was one of the most industrious, thrifty, and powerful nations of Europe. Her mercantile marine was the largest in the world, and her manufactures were in a most flourishing state, while those of France and England were in their infancy. Her decline dates from the period when the supplies of American gold became copious. Her enterprise became a restless, reckless spirit of adventure. "Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, every branch of national industry and improvement, languished and fell to decay; and the nation, like the Phrygian monarch who turned all that he touched to gold, cursed by the very consummation of its wishes, was poor in the midst of its treasures." \* Spain could not *keep* the gold of whose sources she was mistress. It was no equivalent for the loss of steady and patient industry among her people. Deluded with the idea of unbounded wealth in its most dazzling form, she ran into every extravagance. She had little to sell and much to buy in the markets of the world. She was soon unable to supply the wants of her own gold-producing colonies, who could pay so well for what they wanted; and that most lucrative colonial trade fell into the hands of the more thrifty nations. Impoverishment necessarily overtook the mother country; and it is a singular fact, though perfectly explicable, that Philip III., at the time when his mines yielded their largest product, was put to such straits for money, that he issued an arbitrary edict, by which he endeavoured to raise copper money to a value nearly equal to that of silver; and the absolute lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced by pecuniary distress to the wretched expedient which is always the last resource of petty, impoverished states. †

The other countries of Europe derived a substantial benefit from the golden influx. "It is certain," says Hume, "that, since the discovery of the mines in America, industry has increased in all the nations of Europe except in the possessors of those mines; and this may justly be ascribed, amongst other reasons, to the increase of gold and silver." ‡ Spain received the treasure too nearly at first hand, — was too near the mines, — was within the vortex of the gold-getting mania. Gold, it would appear, must get some dis-

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\* Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, III. p. 479.

† Robertson's *America*, III. p. 139.

‡ *Essays*, I. p. 302.

tance from its earthy bed, and be merged and washed in the streams of wholesome trade, before it can cease to carry with it an infecting blight, and become a sure benefit. Doubtless there were other causes that contributed to the decay of the Spanish nation, — war, bad legislation, a bad theory of political economy, the Inquisition, and the weakness and ambition of the successors of Charles V. ; but it is universally conceded that the precious metals had a large share of influence in reducing that proud land from the highest point of national grandeur and opulence to its present condition of beggary, anarchy, and insignificance. The gold came in too directly, too suddenly, and too fast.

The commercial system of the world is so changed since the sixteenth century, and the political and industrial condition of the United States is so different from that of Spain at that period, that there may be little reason to apprehend the same evils as likely to arise now from the same causes. We certainly are not alarmed at the prospect. We are willing that our country should take the risk, whatever there may be. We have confidence that the good will outweigh the evil. Still, the same tendencies that have wrought the decay of nations heretofore continue to operate, and always need to be watched. The solemn lessons of history are worth pondering by our citizens and legislators. They never become obsolete.

This Californian movement, whether as a matter of direct gold-hunting or of trade immediately connected with it, is a subject of more than financial interest to our own community at this time. Our neighbours, friends, and kindred are enlisting in it. Many have gone, many have determined to go, and many more are anxiously weighing the exciting question, whether they shall go or not. Visions of the great possibilities of fortune there pass and pause before the minds of multitudes who say little about it yet. Many, right round us, have had their plans of life all suddenly changed by this golden revelation. What shall we say of their enterprise, as regards them personally ?

To us, as calm and prudent lookers-on, the dangers and objections naturally come to mind first, and it is our duty to state them. In all adventures of this nature, it will be found, when the lottery comes to be wound up, that there will have been for the adventurers, personally, some splendid prizes, but many dismal blanks, and worse than blanks. The pas-

sage itself to California, whether by land or sea, is as yet full of difficulty and hazard. Mournful and despairing accounts reach us from hundreds, detained, for want of money or ships, at the Isthmus of Panamá. It is feared that sad intelligence of sickness and suffering is yet to come from the crowded ships that have left the Atlantic ports for a five months' voyage round Cape Horn. And already we hear, from the inland routes, of companies broken up by disease, famine, and quarrel. The return-current has begun. Many, discouraged, impoverished, and shattered in health, are on their way home.

Of those who reach California, the change of climate and of habits will be fatal to not a few. The hardships, exposures, privations, diseases, incident to a wandering sort of residence in an unsettled region, where much thought cannot be afforded upon matters of dwelling, food, and clothing, where the means of decent living cannot always be had, and where the necessary precautions are likely to be forgotten or despised in the ardor of the one seductive pursuit, will for a large number be too severe a trial.

We should expect, from the nature of the case, — and the accounts already received justify the expectation but too well, — that desperate ruffians and cutthroats of all nations and races will be gathered there, and that many who had been peaceable before will become desperate and dangerous in the frenzy of the pursuit. Law, we are assured, however enacted and proclaimed, will be slow in getting a practical footing there, so as to protect property and life, and keep the peace. The miners will multiply fast, and all having equal rights in every spot, — that is, no legal rights at all, — it is feared that they will soon crowd and interfere, and deadly affrays ensue. The vices incident to a lawless, undomestic, irresponsible aggregation of men, without the presence of woman or anything that can be properly called society, will have many victims. For more than half the year, the labor of collecting the metal must be suspended, as we are informed, and this leisure, with few resources for profitable employment or healthful recreation, will afford fearful temptations to gambling and drinking, and kindred vices ; and in such a miscellaneous assemblage there must be many proficients in evil, eager and competent to initiate the rest. Plunder, one would suppose, must become organized into a system in so alluring a field, — gold is so tempting an ob-

ject, has so much value in so small bulk. The unscrupulous will share the same mania as the honest, the lazy the same as the industrious ; and we hear already the tales of robbery and murder which warn us that many a man, having won his treasure, and thinking himself enriched for life, will part with his hoard and leave his body to the vultures in the wilderness. Many of the adventurers, it is to be presumed, will return to the places from which they went out. Of these, it may be safely predicted, not a few will come empty, baffled, disappointed ; some having been prevented by sickness, or other incapacity or impediment, from making any acquisition, some broken down in constitution, some lost to virtue and peace, and others stripped of their store by misplaced confidence, or open violence, or their own carelessness and waste. And even of those who will return successful, rich, and satisfied, to be the envy of thousands whom they had left plodding here behind, some wise persons — perhaps they will be deemed overwise — sagely doubt whether their great and sudden gains will prove a blessing to them generally. It is thought that persons who achieve wealth amid such circumstances and under the influence of such a spirit are the least likely of all men to have the knowledge, tastes, or habits which would enable them so to use and enjoy it as to derive from it happiness and respectability for themselves, or confer a real benefit by it on their families, friends, and the community. The riches gained thus, implying a revolution and entire unsettling of the mind by the spirit and process of acquiring them, it is said, will generally fit badly the possessor, and not wear well. Only the wealth, little or much, that is obtained by regular industry and enterprise, by moderate gains or natural inheritance, and without the feverish hurry and nervous grasping of covetousness spurred on by envy, ambition, vanity, and manifold discontent, — only that can be expected to bring a true blessing with it to its owner.

These considerations are of so grave a character that they ought not to be overlooked amid the enthusiasm of the time. Probably with a majority of those who may entertain the idea of an expedition to the gold region, they ought to be conclusive. Men who have ties and obligations at home, and other avocations alien from those of such adventure, and the means through accustomed industry of a comfortable, however frugal and modest, livelihood in a land of steady habits, should consider that they have all that God's word

or providence encourages man to demand. They should weigh the subject long and seriously before they throw up all, and enter within the sweep of that perilous whirlpool, and stake everything upon so fearful a hazard.

This, we are aware, however, is but a partial view of the matter. The difficulties and drawbacks are great and real, — sufficient to decide the question for many ; but they are not the whole of the case. After all, California does at this moment present one of the fairest fields for adventure that is now open to the energetic races of mankind. It has its powerful claims. There are persons, here and everywhere, whose circumstances, habits, and wants adapt them to that sphere of action, and fit them to take the risk of its perils, its failures, and its successes. We have no sympathy with the sweeping denunciation, which we sometimes hear, of the whole enterprise, with all its fruits, all its prospects, and all those who engage in it. It is not all madness, unless we take the ground that all attempts to develop the resources of the earth and appropriate them to human uses are madness. We cannot but think there is some slight bigotry and narrowness in the idea, that gold is so much more dangerous and corrupting than other forms of property, or that the direct pursuit of it is necessarily and always a proof of greater worldliness and cupidity than the more indirect pursuit of it which goes on in some other modes of active business. Gold is not hoarded in our days. Modern avarice does not employ itself in counting coin. Gold is not considered peculiarly wealth, any more than iron or corn. It is as speedily and as willingly exchanged for houses and lands. It is the uncertainty attending the pursuit that makes gold-hunting especially demoralizing, and that is an evil which it shares with many other pursuits that are considered legitimate. We feel bound to make some little abatements from the fearful warnings quoted in the preceding pages. It is the hunting for gold where it is doubtful whether there is any that is so demoralizing.

For ourselves, we certainly hold that the barren sands of Plymouth, hallowed by the footsteps and the prayers of the heroic pilgrims, and planted with their holy wisdom, continue more prolific of all worldly blessings than the auriferous sands of California will ever become. The Merri-mac, the Connecticut, and the Charles, with industry, intelligence, and household love and peace clothing their banks,

are better than all the waters of the Sacramento and the Gila. But what then? All men are not contented with a good condition. Some must have a change, though there be great risk that it will be for the worse. Labor in the old familiar fields and workshops is to them tame and dull. They do not enjoy these homebred affections and comforts. All the blessings of society, plenty, order, and religion which surround them do not make them happy. With or without a California to go to, they are discontented and uneasy. Under the influence of this restless spirit, the sons of New England have gone to every other accessible corner of the globe, and why should not some of them go to California? It is the same restlessness that has always been a characteristic of the strong races, those who have had power in the world, and have extended the dominion of man over nature. It is the same unreasonable discontent that has been one main element in all great and effective movements of colonization and discovery. The same spirit that planted New England, and has made her what she is, is yet alive, and is now hurrying so many of her children away on that career of distant adventure. We cannot wonder nor mourn. We certainly do not wish the spirit to die out, and if it remain we must expect it to do many things which look reckless in advance, and which we would not recommend. It wants restraint rather than impetus with our people, yet it is philosophical to recognize it, and to allow it some scope. There is a higher spirit which we could wish to have prevail, — a spirit which we trust is to characterize some future style of Christian civilization; yet we fear that, if the existing spirit out of which Californian enterprises spring were to cease now, it would be to give place to a lower and worse one, rather than a higher and better.

With respect to a large proportion of the persons who have gone, or are going, to seek a share of this new-found treasure, if we were called on to advise, we should say, Go not. As a matter of advice, we should but rarely say, Go. But all advice is grounded on prudence. It is the office of advisers, as such, to present only prudential considerations, to show what is safe, expedient, obligatory, or profitable, and to warn men against unnecessary hazards and precarious novelties. It would be well if prudence had more influence in worldly affairs. But we cannot expect, and we ought not to desire, that it should preside over all human actions;

for then nothing new and great would ever be achieved. No new enterprise is prudent. There are enterprises that must originate from courage and high daring, a sagacity that goes before prudence, starts without its approbation, but only taking it along to regulate the details of the movement which it did not recommend. Prudence originates nothing, — has no inspiration, — never conceived anything great, — and, if it had entire control, would have prevented the most important steps in the history of human progress. Prudence is very essential. It comprises the half of wisdom, but not the whole. It is fairly entitled to full one half of the empire of the world. But if it ruled alone, the race would have continued in imbecile infancy. It was not prudence that brought Columbus to the New World, or our fathers to Plymouth, or dictated the Declaration of Independence, or drew Washington from his safe and easy retirement ; or, to take instances of a selfish and money-making kind, like that which we are discussing, it was not prudence that projected the first whaling voyage, or the first steamboat, or railroad, or factory. The prosperity of New England is the result of projects which prudent men universally discountenanced and shunned at first. Prudence comes in afterwards, and uses and continues what another spirit first achieved with risk, and made easy by sacrifices, and completed amid difficulty and doubt by energy and bold decision. The leaders in new enterprises are commonly the victims of their zeal and courage ; but the world gains, and it is necessary that there should be such men, — men in whom other qualities predominate over prudence. We cannot but deplore what seems the foolhardiness of many individuals engaging in this Californian adventure ; persons who are not fit to go, who have no need to go, who sunder sacred ties and cast off sacred obligations by going, who have nothing to gain and every thing to lose. But as to the movement, in a general view of it, looking upon it as philosophical spectators, and measuring it on the large scale, we regard it as occurring necessarily, in the order of Providence, and according to important and fixed laws in the human mind ; and we acquiesce in it. It is to open and settle the western side of the continent, construct harbours and cities on the Pacific shore, make roads across the wilderness, provide new fields for labor and commerce, and new homes for mankind. We anticipate great good from it. The disasters and failures which we expect

to hear of as overtaking individuals and companies will not shake our faith in the legitimacy of the enterprise, as designed under God to carry forward the interests of humanity. We shall watch its progress with intense interest, and hopes not soon nor easily disheartened.

California itself, we trust, is destined to become a powerful and well-ordered Christian state or empire. It will survive the bad auspices of its origin. Slavery, whether forbidden or not by law of Congress, will never exist there. The great number of intelligent, industrious, and moral citizens repairing thither from our Northern States, (and others as good, for aught we know, from other quarters,) will create a strong, and, we think, *ultimately* prevailing influence in favor of order, industry, and morality. As long as the gold lasts, the labors of agriculture and the useful arts, which are so much more healthful to the individual mind and to the body politic, and which are absolutely essential to the true prosperity of any state, will be neglected. But when the gold has been all gathered and dispersed, or, what is nearly the same in effect, when the mining of it has become, as it will, a regular pursuit, with a steady and moderate profit, then California, with the adjacent provinces, American or Mexican, which will share its fortunes, will flourish. There are better elements among these emigrants than is commonly supposed or acknowledged. While many are hurried to the mines by reckless folly, or feverish cupidity, or desperate fortunes, we are sure there must be thousands there of strong and well-principled men, whose labors are hallowed by indwelling thoughts of home-bound ties, and of future usefulness and respectability, by religious memories, moral purposes, and dear affections, such as redeem from the character of brutish drudgery so much of the toil of men in other and ordinary pursuits. The better elements will predominate in the end, and the Pacific side of the continent, however for a time it may be, to a fearful extent, the scene of suffering, anarchy, and the worst passions of men, we believe, will eventually match and respond to the Atlantic side in all the desirable traits and possessions of a progressive civilization.

G. P.

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

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*Essays and Tales*, by JOHN STERLING. *Collected and Edited, with a Memoir of his Life*, by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A., Rector of Herstmonceux. London: Parker. 1848. Two vols. 12mo. pp. ccxxxii., 504, 649.

It is only as a poet and an essayist that Sterling has been known in this country. Very few of his readers here have been aware that he sustained for a short period the office of a curate in the English Church. There is but little of personal interest in his life, apart from his position in that strife and struggle of opinions which has within the last few years quickened the proverbial apathy of the English ecclesiastical establishment. Sterling died in 1844, in his thirty-ninth year. He was always an invalid, and through much of his life a wanderer from friends and wife and children for health. In his early years he was much under the influence of Coleridge, and when at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was a pupil of his biographer, whose intimacy with him then commenced, and ripened in following years into respect and affectionate friendship. To this friendship, hardly qualified by the adoption of opinions on the part of Sterling which were offensive and highly objectionable to Archdeacon Hare, we are to ascribe the assumption by the latter of the office of editor and biographer.

Sterling's religious opinions, perhaps, never accorded with those which are required in the standards of the English Church. He had from the beginning strong liberal tendencies, which had amounted almost to skepticism, — yielded to, and apparently, though not actually, surmounted, when Archdeacon Hare, who was not then fully informed of the state of his friend's mind, invited him while in Germany to become his curate at Herstmonceux. He was accordingly ordained Deacon in June, 1834; and as his consumptive tendencies obliged him to resign his ministry after six months, he never received priest's orders. Between roaming for health, and spending intervals of partial restoration in literary composition, his few remaining years were passed in excitements and disappointments, — the death of his wife, a year before his own, leaving him with the care of five children. The short period of his ministerial life was happy and useful; the poor and the young were the especial objects of his love. Mr. Hare says, that, when he surrendered the practical duties of his profession,

and ceased to apply the doctrines and lessons of the Gospel directly to the hearts of human beings, he again devoted himself to those speculations which had once before embarrassed and clouded his faith. Coleridge, Arnold, Bunsen, Carlyle, Hare, Blanco White, Maurice, and his brother-in-law, Sterling, are the representatives of a state of opinion in England, the results of which are yet to be developed. Strangely diverse in all other points of view as these men have been or may be, there is between them a mental likeness, founded in a similarity of intellectual experience, in a common dissatisfaction with old formulas of inspiration, and in an unsettled state of opinion which looks only to some great religious movement in the future for relief. As to the extent of Sterling's speculative unbelief in historical Christianity, his biographer does not distinctly inform us. It is evident, however, that speculation and philosophy, so called, involved him in that painful and restless struggle between faith and doubt which is the inevitable lot of those who hesitate whether to accord a fuller inspiration to their own intuitions or to the revelation of God by Jesus Christ.

The Memoir in these volumes is largely composed of Sterling's own letters, and these are of deep interest, as they disclose a pure and loving heart, and impress us with the evident excellences and virtues and natural talents of the writer. We can well conceive that Sterling's friends must have entertained for him an ardent attachment and a most loving regard. From his dying couch, just before he expired, he wrote and gave to his sister the two following stanzas.

"Could we but hear all nature's voice,  
From glowworm up to sun,  
'T would speak with one concordant sound, —  
'Thy will, O God, be done !'

"But hark, a sadder, mightier prayer !  
From all men's hearts that live, —  
Thy will be done in earth and heaven,  
And Thou my sins forgive."

The prose writings of Sterling, gathered principally from the papers and magazines to which he contributed, are printed in these volumes. They have not the charm and vigor of his letters, and often show a straining after conceit, and an exaggerated and unhealthy individualism. As might have been expected, Archdeacon Hare has drawn upon himself severe censure for this labor of friendship. His own heresies and his previously equivocal position in the conflict of opinions, have furnished material for an assault, an occasion for which has been readily seized upon in his editing of these volumes. The twentieth number of "The English Review," last December, attacked him for writing the life

and for editing the writings of "an infidel." He replied with severity, in a pamphlet entitled "Thou shalt not bear False Witness against thy Neighbour," to which the succeeding number of the Review makes a rejoinder.

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*The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations. An Essay towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the true Basis of Theology.*  
By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of Balliol College,  
Oxford. London: John Chapman. 1849. 12mo. pp. 222.

IN relation to the professed and main design of the writer, we regard this work on the philosophy of religion as a valuable contribution to theology. It is the production of a clear, discriminating, independent mind, expressing itself without the slightest reserve. The author has given his thoughts on six topics, — The Sense of the Infinite without us; The Sense of Sin; The Sense of Personal Relation to God; Spiritual Progress; Hopes concerning a Future Life; and Prospects of Christianity. They are thoughts which will be interesting and profitable to every one who is in the habit of speculating upon the subject of religion. The general character of the author's opinions may be briefly included in the phrase, *spiritual and experimental deism*. He is earnest in opposition to pantheism and pantheistic tendencies. We are sorry to add, that, while his views on most of the subjects on which he treats harmonize with those of Christ, he is strongly opposed to Christianity as a religion of authority. For faith in the future life, resting on the declarations of the Son of God, he would substitute aspirations and hopes, which he acknowledges are all that, on his views of the sources of religious faith, he can attain. He even regards the common view of Christianity as resting on authority, even the authority of Christ, as one of the greatest obstacles to its prevalence and power in the world. Religion, he thinks, can never resume her pristine vigor until she appeals only to the soul. But he has not shown, or attempted to show, that the great lights of the Church, the most spiritual and experimental teachers of Christianity, who, in successive ages, have relied on Christ as imparting authority to their hopes and aspirations, have been less earnest or less successful in appealing to the soul, or in awakening and strengthening the religious feelings of our nature, than those few in modern times who deny any peculiar authority to Christ. We regard the last two parts of the book, in which he speaks of the future life, and of the prospects of Christianity and the causes of infidelity, as unsatisfactory, one-sided, and in many respects erroneous. At the same time, we recommend to every clergyman to read

the book. It will suggest to him many valuable thoughts. It may be regarded as one of the signs of the times, that this work, as also that of Froude, noticed in our present number, comes from the ancient University of Oxford. Circumstances of this kind lead one to entertain a hope that the state of theology in the mother country, and in our own, will not be exactly what it is now.

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*Grammar of the Latin Language.* By LEONHARD SCHMITZ, Ph. D., F. R. S., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. Philadelphia. 1849. 12mo. pp. 318.

THE editor says in his Introduction, — “The Latin language is neither a daughter of the Greek nor a mixture of any other languages, the resemblance with Greek, German, Celtic, and others, arising from the simple fact that it is a sister of them.”

We have always considered the Latin language placed at the head of a family, rather with regard to its numerous descendants than to its origin, it being too evidently derived from the Celtic mixed with Greek to require particular comparison. Its character as a derivative language may be observed in the adoption of insulated terms, independently of the simple words from which they are deduced. Thus we have *ventus*, ‘wind,’ without any Latin etymology; in the German, on the contrary, we have *wehe*, ‘blow,’ whence *wehend* and *wind*; in Cimbric, *giugnt* or *vent*.

The manner in which the editor has stated and explained the phenomena of the Latin language is satisfactory; he has endeavoured, not only to express the facts most concisely and clearly, but also, as far as possible, to explain and give reasons for the facts as stated. His authorities are good: Ramshorn, Zumpt, Key, and Madvig, to whom he often refers, are powerful names to lean upon.

So far as the editor is concerned in the preparation of this volume, we are ready to recommend it. But how have the publishers done their part? Very shabbily, we think. The paper is thin and dingy, the type so small and crowded that no teacher, with the faintest regard for the eyes of his pupil, will ever put such a volume into his hands. Many of the Philadelphia publishers, Messrs. Lea & Blanchard included, are half a century behind the age in the printing of their books.

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*The Incarnation; or Pictures of the Virgin and her Son.* By CHARLES BEECHER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. 16mo. pp. 223.

THE design of this book is to reproduce, as fresh realities, in the minds of its readers, the principal events connected with the

earthly career of our Saviour. The author's success is but small. The theological groundwork of his descriptions is inconsistent with a correct interpretation of the Scriptures, and is an offence alike to reason, to reverence, and to piety. His style defies nearly every canon of good taste. With all its faults, however, the book has decided merits. It contains evident marks of power, and promises better things. Mr. Beecher will be able to write works really worthy of being noticed. He will learn that a heated fancy is not a penetrative imagination, that blank verse is not good prose, and that, however commendable a Christian spirit and an earnest purpose are, yet, for the production of a book that shall be worth publication, there must be joined with them conscientious patience of thought.

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*A Letter of the Celebrated JOHN FOSTER to a Young Minister, on the Duration of Future Punishment: with an Introduction and Notes, consisting chiefly of Extracts from Orthodox Writers, and an Earnest Appeal to the American Tract Society in Regard to the Character of its Publications.* Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 119.

THE value of this pamphlet might be estimated in the arena of controversy, either with reference to the religious communion to which its anonymous author may belong, or by a decision formed on its own merits. By the former criterion for judging it, if it come from one of the "Orthodox," so called, it will have a much higher importance than if it be written by a Universalist. We have no other clew to its authorship than the writer himself incidentally furnishes us, when he professes to be a contributor to the funds of the American Tract Society, and a purchaser and distributor of its publications (p. 59). We have been gratified by the method and the matter of the pamphlet, and especially so with its spirit, which is dignified, serious, and every way commendable.

The famous Letter in which the excellent John Foster expressed so powerfully his doubts, and the reasons for them, on the Calvinistic view of the duration of future punishment, is introduced by a series of pertinent extracts from reviews and comments, in which Mr. Foster's life and character and opinions are discussed by "Orthodox writers." After the Letter follows an Appendix, in three divisions, containing extracts from the writings of believers in endless punishment, an extract from a letter of Mr. Foster to the Rev. Dr. Harris, with a note upon it by the latter, and extracts from writers supposed to receive the doctrine of endless punishment, — showing to what an extent

a disbelief in that doctrine prevails in Great Britain, Germany, and our own country. The extracts are judiciously chosen, and the notes and comments of the compiler are pertinent to the theme.

The Appeal to the Tract Society is based upon its own official statements of the extent of its operations, and upon its professions that the greatest caution and discretion are exercised upon its publications. The writer, notwithstanding, argues that its publications require a rigid revision; that they are often offensive and injudicious; that they abound in gross material representations of future retribution, make an unfair use of names, and indicate a want of the very oversight which is so emphatically claimed as the ground of public confidence. One publication, extensively circulated, under the title of "The Peep of Day," is most deliberately criticized, with a keen severity, but with admirable temper, and is proved to be a gross parody of Scripture, utterly unworthy of the sacred use for which it is designed, as the foundation of a Christian education in the mind of a child.

We infer that the compiler and author of this pamphlet is attached by general sympathies, or by association and interest, to some Orthodox communion, and we shall hope that his calm and good-tempered Appeal will draw forth some response, and insure for it as proper a tone and spirit.

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*The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature.* By ROBERT HUNT, Author of *Researches on Light*, etc. London: Reeve, Benham, & Reeve. 1848. 8vo. pp. 463.

A WRITER must have rare gifts of imagination and taste to succeed in an undertaking such as the title of this book indicates. He must be in constant danger of sacrificing poetry to science, or science to poetry, according as the one or the other element predominates in his own nature. Mr. Hunt's danger lies in the former direction, and he has presented us with a very clear and interesting sketch of the chief facts in the science of nature, and a very moderate proportion of the ideal. There is, indeed, at the close of his chapters, occasionally a beautiful simile or an eloquent moral. But generally his simple statements of facts or principles must suggest to readers of ordinary imagination at least quite as many and as significant poetic analogies as any which he expressly elaborates. But notwithstanding all his quotations from the poets and images from the classics, a simple and comprehensive survey of the domain of physical science, such as Mrs. Somerville has given us in her well-

known work, seems far more worthy of the title which Mr. Hunt has appropriated than his own book.

The portion of the volume that interests us most is the chapter on *Actinism*, or the chemical principle in the solar ray, which, in connection with light and heat, completes the mighty trio that unite in the sunbeam. This power, although generally combined with light and heat, may be separated from them, so that a Daguerreotype may be taken literally in the dark. To its predominance in spring, the germination of vegetable life is in the main ascribed, whilst the light-principle prevails in summer, and the heat in autumn, and thus the plant, germinating in spring, shoots up freely in summer, and its fruit is ripened in autumn. It would not require a very extravagant Swedenborgian to suggest analogies between these constituents of the solar ray and the elements of our moral and intellectual nature in themselves and in their developments.

After reading this book we took occasion to attend a course of experimental lectures on chemistry, conducted by as successful a manipulator as we have ever known,— we mean Professor Chace, of Brown University. There was something in the exhibition of the simple constituent elements of nature, especially in those four master powers, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon, that seemed like a perpetual miracle. These forces, ever fresh, ever presenting the same proportions, the same affinities, the same inexhaustible powers, so impressed us, that the lecturer's table of retorts and receivers seemed to us altogether a more poetical affair than the elaborate and exquisitely printed volume which we have so briefly noticed.

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*Manual of Ancient Geography and History.* By WILHELM PÜTZ, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren. Translated from the German. Edited by the Rev. THOMAS KERCHER ARNOLD, M. A., Rector of Lyndon, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised and corrected from the London Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 396.

THE American edition of this valuable little work is edited by Professor Greene, of Providence, R. I., and is designed as a general introduction to a series of historical works now in course of preparation by that gentleman. For such an undertaking Mr. Greene is peculiarly fitted by taste, habits, and education; and we take great pleasure in commending his plan to the favorable notice of our readers. History is not taught at school, either in this country or abroad, as generally nor as thoroughly

as it should be. Indeed, the great majority of children, who pass through our public and private schools with credit, and acquire considerable proficiency in other branches, are lamentably deficient in their knowledge of historical facts and personages. We gladly welcome, therefore, any attempt to introduce the study more generally into our schools by the publication of books adapted to that purpose.

The present volume contains a succinct but clear account of the geography and history of all the principal nations of antiquity, with a chronological table, and a body of questions upon the text for the assistance of teachers. The plan is well conceived and, in general, faithfully executed,—displaying a thorough scholarship on the part of the author. We notice, however, a few inaccuracies, which have evidently slipped through the hands of the editors. Thus we are told,—“Notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, the Assyrians never attained a high state of civilization.” Mr. Layard’s recent researches have entirely disproved this assertion. The dates in the chronological table, too, are, in one or two instances, slightly apocryphal; but, on the whole, the volume is the best of the kind with which we are acquainted, and may be profitably used either as a text-book or as a manual for reference.

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*Elements of Moral Science.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., President of Brown University. Abridged, and adapted to the Use of Schools and Academies, by the Author. Twenty-sixth Thousand, revised. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 18mo. pp. 212.

THE author of this work, which, as the Preface informs us, “has been not merely *abridged*, but also *rewritten*,” has, perhaps, more than any other writer, identified himself with moral science in this country. The man himself, and the style of all his productions, seem always to indicate something of the simplicity and grandeur of the moral sentiment. He is not a suggestive, but most clear and expressive writer. That view of language which would maintain its inadequacy to convey any settled and unequivocal meaning finds little countenance in anything he has composed, for it would be difficult indeed to discover more than a single sense in any clause or paragraph. He must be a good teacher, as his works are admirably fitted to the purposes of instruction. We remember nothing in the lucid expositions of this little treatise from which we seriously dissent. It does not adventure into the region of any new or hasty propositions, does not reflect upon us the dazzling and dubious colors of

any "new light," — but it does urge with great wisdom and force upon the conscience the recognized and indisputable principles of moral obligation, and, in its wide circulation among the youth of our land, we rejoice to believe it is doing substantial good.

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*Consolatio ; or Comfort for the Afflicted. With a Preface and Notes.* By the Rev. P. H. GREENLEAF, M. A. Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 248.

THIS volume is a reprint of an English compilation, which, as appears from Mr. Greenleaf's Preface, was the work of a female mind and pen, during the trying experiences of a severe and a protracted illness. It consists of devout meditations, Scripture lessons and counsels, and instructions of an elevated devotional character, all bearing upon the painful experiences of the mortal lot. The names of the respective authors of the extracts are not attached to them, and we have only the general information in the Preface that they are from the writings of Thomas-à-Kempis, Leighton, Taylor, Cecil, Wilberforce, Hall, Manning, and others.

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*Echoes of Infant Voices.* Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1849. 12mo. pp. 144.

TREASURES of poetry, designed for the comfort of bereaved and sorrowing parents, are gathered in this little volume. The selection has been made with taste and right feeling. Thirty-seven pieces, mostly complete in themselves, are given from authors whose consolatory strains have had the trial of their own experience, and the test of a general approbation.

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*Friends in Council. A Series of Readings and Discourses thereon.* Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 236.

WE are glad to see this book reprinted here. We had read and enjoyed it long ago. It contains essays on the following subjects : — Truth, Conformity, Despair, Recreation, Greatness, Fiction, The Art of Living with Others, Education, Unreasonable Claims in Social Affections and Relations, Public Improvements, History. Each essay is followed by a spirited conversation among three literary friends, who certainly talk well. The matter has the moderation and chasteness of the older English essayists, but yet is the fresh result of modern thinking. The volume has wisdom without dulness, and is sprightly without para-

dox or atheism. It is of the nutritive and wholesome class of books. The author has a happy way of evincing mental independence and a high culture, without revolutionizing the English language, or scoffing at the wisdom previously extant in the world. The volume, though anonymous, is understood to be the work of Mr. Helps, who is also the anonymous author of the "Essays written in the Intervals of Business," and of "The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen."

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*Sacred Rhetoric; or Composition and Delivery of Sermons.* By HENRY J. RIPLEY, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution. *To which are added Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching.* By HENRY WARE, Jr., D. D. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 12mo. pp. 260.

FROM a cursory examination of this volume, which is all we have had time to bestow upon it, we judge that it is admirably suited to its design. We are accustomed to regard oratory as one of those gifts or accomplishments which are to be ascribed to nature or to self-culture, and which can be but little helped by books or teachers. Professor Ripley devotes far the larger portion of his volume, very wisely, to instruction concerning the composition of sermons. His long experience, his most faithful and devoted labors as a teacher of candidates for the ministry, and his well-proved zeal in his sacred calling, invest his lessons with authority. There are wise and profitable counsels in his book, which will help preachers as well as candidates. Indeed, it has occurred to us that its perusal would benefit even the hearers of sermons, and make them appreciate better the labors of their religious teachers. The "Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching" need no further commendation in our pages.

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*Memoir of HIRAM WITHINGTON, with Selections from his Sermons and Correspondence.* Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1849. 16mo. pp. 190.

THIS book will meet with a cordial welcome from many hearts,—the many who knew and watched the life it so vividly portrays. They will be glad to have that life made thus again to pass before them, though it freshen within them painful regrets that it has passed away. It is the memorial of one who inspired an uncommon depth and liveliness of interest in all who shared his friendship; who won, in his too brief career, as few have done

in more extended ones, a large place in the confidence and esteem of associates and acquaintance. And to all these this little work, prepared by one who knew him most intimately and appreciatingly, this "service of affection," as he styles it, and which we can well believe it is, will be a treasured memento. And we cannot but express our appreciation of the good taste and judgment evinced by the writer of the Memoir, in the use of the materials afforded him, as well as in the candor and faithfulness of the remarks and suggestions which accompany and connect them; and also of the delicacy of forbearance which led to the omission of all direct encomium, when the partialities of a strong personal attachment must have urged to it. We honor the truthfulness — and the more because it is so rare — which has not refrained from allusion to failings, or at least errors, of his friend, the knowledge of which cannot but lessen somewhat the satisfaction with which his life's course and ending are contemplated. Rightly, as well as kindly, are they referred to an all-absorbing devotedness to the duties of his calling; and yet it is not to be concealed, and Mr. Withington himself too late discovered it, that duty, better understood, would have counselled a different course. It is no easy task to speak of a dear, departed friend, one's love and esteem for whom he would have shared by others, and at the same time be simply and only true. This the writer of the Memoir before us, we think, has done. He has presented its subject as he was. The lights and *shades* of character appear. The former, indeed, greatly predominating, as in truth they did; so that his refined tastes, his elevated aims, his genuine spirituality, his self-regardless exertions for others' good, his manly simplicity and sincerity, — these and kindred traits, which made his short life rich, not in promise only, but in actual power, — compose the features of the mental image which is impressed upon the reader's mind.

The "Selections" from sermons and other manuscripts are excellent. They relate to most interesting and important themes, and bespeak an eminently serious and earnest, as well as a highly spiritual and poetic mind. They fully sustain the idea of their author's ability and spirit which the Memoir would lead one to form; and do justice, to as great a degree, probably, as was possible by such scanty extracts, to the quality and attainments of his mental and moral being.

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*Kavanagh, a Tale.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.  
Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1849. 16mo. pp. 188.

THE quality of Mr. Longfellow's genius is so generally appreciated, his rank, by common consent, is so clearly settled,

and his merits so heartily acknowledged, that any formal criticism of his powers at this time would be superfluous. The predominant feeling which the announcement of a new book from his pen excites in cultivated readers is gratitude, and this feeling the perusal of "Kavanagh" will not disturb. As a literary work, it will confirm rather than increase the author's reputation. Those who expected a novel which would illustrate New England character and life have not been gratified. "Kavanagh" is a sketch, and not properly a rounded and completed story. The characters are outlined rather than painted, and the main interest of the book lies in its transparent moral. It teaches two things: the value to an artist of spiritual insight into common life, and the necessity of promptness and decision if we would realize our aspirations. It is a powerful sermon from the text which Kavanagh wrote on the inside of his study door, —

"Are you in earnest? Seize this very minute!  
What you can do, or think you can, begin it!  
Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it!  
Only engage, and then the mind grows heated:  
Begin it, and the work will be completed."

There is no tinge of unnaturalness in the incidents of the narrative. It is not toned above the key of ordinary experience. But only those who have read it, or who have vivid recollections of the author's "Hyperion," can understand the peculiar charm which the purity of style, the sweet, mellow rhythm of the sentences, affluence of fancy, felicitous exhibition of curious learning, and delicacy and healthiness of sentiment combine to throw over every page. Mr. Longfellow should be heartily commended for showing in this volume, as also in "Evangeline," that the most delightful æsthetic fascination is entirely consistent with a strong moral purpose and Christian purity of thought. Besides the intellectual pleasure which its pages will bestow, the perusal of "Kavanagh" will convey a musical warning into many a conscience, and inspire better resolutions into dreamy and inactive souls.

Perhaps it is not amiss to say that the quaint, bold sermon which is attributed to Mr. Pendexter, upon leaving his parish, is not an imaginary discourse. We have seen a printed copy of the original, and it deserves to be mentioned, that the clergyman who really preached it, and who supposed it would be his last in the parish to which he ministered, did remain with them some years longer. We take leave of "Kavanagh" with an expression of the hope that its accomplished author may long enjoy, without interruption and without shadow, the inward reward which genius merits when it is pledged to pure and noble aims.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Mission to Children.* — Meetings were held in this city, at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour (Rev. Mr. Waterston's), on the 2d and the 9th of May, to consider a proposal for establishing among us a mission to neglected children. The suggestion was originally made a year ago, at one of the Union Meetings of Sunday School teachers, but it has now resulted in some promising and hopeful measures. The great interest which the proposal excited may be inferred from the names of those who took part in its discussion, as follow : — Rev. Dr. Gannett, Rev. Messrs. Lothrop, Barnard, Brooks, Bartol, Edmunds (of the Christian Church in Sea Street), Waterston, Coolidge, Fox, Huntington, and Holland, and Messrs. Grant, Rogers, Fearing, Cobb, Greene, Merrill, Means, Clarke, Reed, and others. The result was the formation of an association, the object of which is to rescue, serve, and benefit neglected children. Of the necessity of such efforts, the reports of the City Marshal, and the statements made by Rev. C. F. Barnard, whose faithful labors in this field for seventeen years qualify him to speak with feeling and full authority, afford most painful testimony. It is designed that the funds for the support of this charity shall be contributed by the pupils of our own Sunday Schools. There was peculiar weight in the suggestion made by Rev. Dr. Gannett, that the children should contribute their own little gifts, at the expense of some self-denial, rather than be nominal bestowers of funds passed through their hands by their parents.

The Superintendents of our Sunday Schools are to constitute a Central Board, who shall annually, on the first Wednesday of May, elect from their own number a President, Secretary, and Treasurer, and two others out of their body, to constitute together an Executive Committee.

Fifteen Sunday Schools have entered into this plan. At a meeting of the Superintendents of thirteen of them, on May 11th, J. G. Williams, Esq., of the Stone Chapel Sunday School, was chosen President of the Children's Mission ; B. H. Greene, Esq., of the Suffolk Street School, Treasurer ; George Merrill, of the Harvard Sabbath School, Secretary ; and Rev. R. C. Waterston and Elder Edward Edmunds, the other two members of the Committee.

The Committee have chosen Mr. Joseph Barry, who has for some time been engaged in Christian labors among the poor, as Missionary to Children for the ensuing year.

*Dudleian Lecture.* — The annual Dudleian Lecture was preached on Wednesday, May 9th, in the College Chapel at Cambridge, by the Rev. George W. Blagden, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. The subject in course was, *The Errors of Popery*. The preacher traced its worst corruptions and inventions to a root in human nature, from which had sprung errors developed in other systems of religion. The discourse was able, and well suited to its purpose.

*A Western Conference.*—A Conference of Unitarian Ministers, attended also by Elder D. Nicholson, of the Christian Connection, was held in the city of Chicago, Illinois, on the 10th of May last. There were present Rev. Wm. Adam of Chicago, Rev. A. H. Conant of Geneva, Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Rev. S. Larned of Tremont, and Rev. H. Snow, missionary. Other brethren were expected, nor would they have been kept back by the long distances which divide their scattered fields of labor, if their parochial duties had allowed of their absence from their respective homes. The Rev. Messrs. Hosmer of Buffalo, Eliot of St. Louis, Huntington of Milwaukee, and Woodward of Galena, sent excuses for their non-appearance. The debates, addresses, and resolutions of the Conference showed an earnest desire, on the part of the few brethren who were present, to encourage each other, and to advance a common cause. Dr. Barstow of Chicago announced his wish to establish in that city a Unitarian Book and Tract Depository, and to act as travelling agent for the sale and circulation of such publications. His design was warmly approved.

An invitation was extended to the Rev. F. W. Holland, the laborious and efficient Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, to visit our Western churches, and to partake of the hospitalities of their members. Attention was drawn to the Meadville Theological School, as the source from which our Western societies are to be furnished with able ministers, and that institution was recommended to the support of its friends. The Conference resolved that it was the duty of its members to search in their parishes, and elsewhere, for suitable young men, and encourage them to go to Meadville. It was resolved that a letter be addressed to all Western Unitarian ministers not present, inviting them to consider the propriety of organizing a Western Unitarian Association, that a discussion of the project may be had at a future conference. The form of such a letter was submitted and adopted. The Rev. Wm. Adam acted as Chairman, and the Rev. M. De Lange as Secretary, of the Conference.

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*Unitarian Association of the State of New York.*—The semiannual meeting of this Association was held in the Church of the Divine Unity (Rev. Mr. Bellows's), on the evening of May 23d. After prayer by Rev. S. Osgood of Providence, a discourse was delivered by Rev. S. K. Lothrop of Boston, from Matthew x. 8 : subject, "The Value of the Gospel to us, and our Obligation to use it for the Purposes for which it was bestowed." Zebedee Cook, Esq., President of the Association, then took the chair, and resolutions were offered, a discussion of which was commenced, and continued, by adjournment, on the following evening, in the Church of the Saviour (Rev. Mr. Farley's), in Brooklyn, after a discourse had been delivered by Rev. Dr. Dewey : text, Luke x. 2 ; subject, "Preaching, what it is, what it ought to be." The resolutions, bearing upon the interests and prospects of our cause, and indicating the line of our duty, its encouraging aspect, and the call for its earnest discharge, were discussed by the Rev. Drs. Dewey and Parkman, Rev. Messrs. Farley, Bellows, Osgood, Thompson of Salem, and Fox of Boston, and Messrs. Richard Warren and George Woodman of New York.

Our brethren of the New York Association, both lay and clerical, do certainly deserve the heartiest acknowledgments of all of like faith,

for their generous and zealous efforts in behalf of Liberal Christianity. We hope that the cause has received from recent measures an impulse whose good effects will be permanent and extensive.

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*Anniversary Week.*—An increasing importance attaches year by year to the crowded and numerous meetings that are held in this city during the week which promises to become more famous, and which is certainly far more effective of good as “Anniversary Week,” than when it was signalized as “Election Week.” While the children have not lost their holiday, their parents have gained many days which they may make holy in their spirit and influences. These occasions exhibit to us what is the utmost that coöperation and sympathy for great religious and benevolent ends can effect. Though they may excite and weary, and may not always afford so much of help and encouragement in the way in which all would be glad to receive it, they certainly hold a high and a peculiar place among the agencies which are now working most beneficently upon the world. They soften prejudices; they harmonize hearts, if not minds; they offer resistance and rebuke to selfishness. When we have received from them all the good they can impart to each of us, we can better estimate the proportions of various duties, and the aids which we may find in each. We understand better in what part of the great work of the Christian life disciples may help each other, and what part of it each must perform alone.

We think it must be evident to all that the week is too much crowded with meetings. It would be impossible for a member of either portion of the Congregational body to attend all the meetings which are called to consider its different objects; and if to such meetings we add the social and philanthropic assemblies, we might well ask, How can we be in three or four places at the same hour?

Our own experience leads us to decide, that, taking into view economy of time, and some of the best effects of wisdom as depending rather on deliberate thought than on emotion or excitement, those meetings in which a carefully prepared address or discourse is delivered are more edifying than our random discussions. The occasions which are called, by way of keeping us in good humor, *business meetings*, are apt to be very wasteful of precious hours.

What a striking advance in the character and aim of human interest, is indicated in these religious and philanthropic assemblies! What an index do they afford of progress towards ultimate and universal good, by the elevation of men's hopes and the enlistment of their best powers! These meetings form the fifth in the order of those occasions which, apart from political purposes, have called together periodically large masses of human beings. The first of these occasions was that presented in ancient Greece, where games of running and wrestling, the chariot-race, and the poetic contest, drew together the dwellers on the isles, the promontories, and the mountains of that fair land. Second in order were the gladiatorial shows, and the barbarous conflicts of the arena. Then came the sports of the tournament and the tilting-field. Fourth in order were the market fairs and wakes, which were eagerly anticipated over all Christian Europe, and which remain to this day among the most effective influences which work at the same time upon large numbers of persons.

It would be too much to expect that we should have at the same time the highest and best of all these occasions to draw us together, and that we should, at this early stage of the trial of a new method, make always the wisest use of it. "The interests of humanity," our familiar theme now, do indeed open before us an ocean of awful depth and extent; but the means of exploring and traversing it wisely are the same as secure safety on smaller seas, and with less universal cargoes.

We should be glad, did our limits permit, to recognize the broadest interests which have been discussed through this week by going beyond the bounds of our own household, and recording the proceedings of all the societies and meetings for religious, sectarian, philanthropic, and reformatory purposes. But they all have organs to speak for them.

The Antislavery and General Reform meetings were well attended. The star of those assemblies was Mr. Wendell Phillips, who speaks from the fulness of his sincerity, and with a beauty and power of eloquence which give him the same superiority over his associates of his own complexion that Frederick Douglass enjoys over his colored brethren, through the force of his apt and powerful rhetoric, and his fertility of illustration. Henry Brown, a fugitive (or rather a smuggled) slave, who had passed through miraculous experiences, in a box marked as freight, in which he had stood on his head in a freight dépôt for half an hour, was present at the meetings, and his tale was often told with great interest to the hearers.

It is not to be denied, however, that large numbers of persons are drawn to the Antislavery and Reform meetings, as children would say, "for fun." The eccentricities and extravagances of some who make themselves prominent at such meetings, doubtless, have been as attractive to many, of late years, as have the speeches and resolutions of the wiser leaders.

The numerous meetings in which our Orthodox brethren advocate and sustain the measures most important to them were, as usual, well attended, and conducted with spirit.

In giving a brief account of those occasions which enlist our peculiar sympathies and draw us together, we grieve to record that the venerable and much honored Dr. Pierce of Brookline, whose presence has been so constant and so much valued in former years, was missed from all our meetings. But he was in all of them tenderly and affectionately remembered. We are grateful for the freedom from pain, for the serenity and Christian faith which attend on his decline, and that we have all been permitted to visit him in that quiet study, which is rather a reception-room for uncounted friends than a sick-chamber.

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*Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society.*—The annual meeting of this quietly useful benevolent Society was held in the South Congregational Church, (Rev. Mr. Huntington's), on Sunday evening, May 27. After prayer by Rev. J. F. Clarke, a discourse was delivered by Rev. John Pierpont, of Troy, N. Y., from Revelation i. 3: "Blessed is he that readeth." From an ingenious and devotional exposition of his text, the preacher presented the privileges, blessings, and good fruits connected with "reading," and then passed, by an easy and obvious process of thought, to a statement of the privilege and duty of giving to others the means of reading. After the Sermon, the Rev. J. F. Clarke complied

with a request which had been made to him, and offered some appropriate remarks, in which he gave some account of the plan recently adopted for circulating the works of Rev. Dr. Channing.

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*Massachusetts Bible Society.* — The fortieth anniversary of this Society was celebrated at the Central Church (Rev. Mr. Rogers's), on Monday, May 28. At the business meeting of the Society, a letter was read from the President, the Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline, whose increasing infirmities compelled him to decline a reelection. An honorable and affectionate tribute was paid to him in the Report, and the Rev. Dr. Parkman was appointed to convey to him the cordial sympathies and the best wishes of the Society. The Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL. D., was elected President. Henry Edwards, Esq., Treasurer, and Rev. G. W. Blagden, Recording Secretary, having respectively declined a reelection, received a vote of thanks for their services, and their offices were filled by George R. Sampson, Esq., and Rev. George Richards. Rev. Dr. Parkman was chosen Vice-President, and Rev. Dr. Frothingham, Corresponding Secretary. The Report gave evidence of the efficient action of the Society in the charitable distribution of Bibles and Testaments to the destitute on land and sea.

The public meeting of the Society was then held in the church. Hon. Simon Greenleaf introduced the exercises by some brief remarks. Rev. Dr. Jenks read selections from the Scriptures, and offered prayer. Rev. Dr. Parkman, Corresponding Secretary of the last year, read the Report, which, besides its tribute to Rev. Dr. Pierce, commemorated the benefactions to the Society of the late Hon. Peter C. Brooks.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, then addressed the meeting, in a very eloquent speech, and moved the acceptance of the Report, which was seconded by Rev. Dr. Sharp. Addresses in support of resolutions were also made by Rev. W. I. Budington of Charlestown, and Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York.

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*The Boston Port Society.* — The annual meeting of this Society was held in the Channing Street Church (Rev. Dr. Gannett's), on Monday evening, May 28. Albert Fearing, Esq., the President, took the chair, and opened the meeting. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Sharp, of the Baptist Church in Charles Street. The Report was read by J. A. Andrew, Esq., and addresses were made by Hon. J. H. Clifford of New Bedford, Attorney-General, Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York, and Rev. E. T. Taylor of the Seamen's Bethel.

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*American Peace Society.* — A thronged concourse filled the whole area of Park Street Church, on Monday evening, May 28, to hear the Annual Address before that Society by Charles Sumner, Esq., the subject of which was "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations." The President of the Society, Hon. William Jay, being absent on account of illness, the Rev. Dr. Waterbury took the chair. Scriptures were read and prayer offered by Rev. D. Huntington of North Bridgewater. Rev. C. Beckwith, the Secretary, read the Report, the statements of which gave a favorable account of the receipts and the

operations of the Society. The "Review of the Mexican War," by Rev. A. A. Livermore, which obtained the prize of \$500 offered by this Society, will be published in the course of this summer.

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*American Unitarian Association.*—The annual meeting of this Association for business purposes was held on Tuesday morning, May 29, at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour (Rev. Mr. Waterston's), and afterwards, by adjournment, on the afternoon of the following day. Prayer was offered by Rev. S. Osgood of Providence. The President, Rev. Dr. Gannett, opened the meeting, and a very methodical and extended Report was read by the Secretary, Rev. F. W. Holland, who has labored with persevering energy during the past year to promote the efficiency of the Association, and has taken especial care to provide the numerous passenger-ships to California with religious literature. Dr. Gannett also read a report from a sub-committee on missions; and another report, copies of which had been circulated in print, with suggestions for extending and strengthening the agency of the Association, was read, and all of them were accepted. From the measures and plans resolved upon, we hope for an earnest and most successful prosecution of the high purposes of the Association for the time to come. All the officers of the last year were reëlected. J. P. Blanchard, Esq., proposed an amendment to the constitution, reducing the fee for life-membership from \$30 to \$15. According to rule, the proposal lies over to the next yearly meeting.

The public meeting of the Association was held on the evening of May 29, in the Channing Street Church (Rev. Dr. Gannett's). The President took the chair, and opened the meeting by calling on the Rev. John Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., to read a hymn and offer prayer. The Secretary then gave a summary of the Report. Dr. Gannett announced that the subjects and topics which it was desirable should come before the meeting had been distributed under several heads, and that several speakers to whom they had been assigned would be called upon in succession. The meeting was accordingly addressed by Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, Md., Rev. J. F. Clarke, Hon. T. D. Elliot of New Bedford, Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Illinois, Rev. G. E. Ellis of Charlestown, and Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem.

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*The Collation.*—This pleasant occasion had the usual testimony borne to its cheerful and inspiring influences in the avowal by many who partook of it that it was the best of all they had ever shared. It was held in the beautiful and commodious Assembly Room in Albany Street, where about one thousand guests were seated. Manlius S. Clarke, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, welcomed the Unitarian ministers and their wives, in behalf of the Unitarian laity of Boston. The Hon. Josiah Quincy presided; a blessing was craved by Rev. Dr. Peabody, and thanks were returned by Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York. The President, in brief and felicitous remarks, called up, successively, Rev. F. A. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. A. B. Muzzey of Cambridgeport, Rev. R. Sanger of Dover, Rev. S. J. May of Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. E. T. Taylor, Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York, Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Ill., Deacon M. Grant, and Rev. J. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y. Music and singing were interspersed, and

the hall was richly decorated with flowers, and with portraits of deceased and living ministers. Letters were read from invited guests whose engagements prevented their being present.

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*Ministerial Conference.* — This meeting of brethren — which has lost its once familiar name by its removal from the vestry in Berry Street, and somewhat of its former peaceful and devotional character by the introduction into it of a large variety of subjects of debate — was held on Wednesday morning, May 30, in the chapel of the Church of the Saviour. Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., was chosen Moderator, and prayer was offered by Rev. A. Hill of Worcester. The Address, delivered by Rev. Dr. Gannett, has a place in our pages; so that all, who were not so privileged as to be among the still and attentive audience that listened to it with such interest, may read it and judge for themselves. After a vote of thanks had been passed to the speaker, the Rev. F. D. Huntington was chosen Scribe, and the Rev. Messrs. G. E. Ellis, J. F. Clarke, and S. Osgood, Executive Committee. The Rev. Charles Brooks, as chairman of a committee appointed last year, read a report on a projected society to relieve aged and indigent brethren of our body. The report, which embraced a constitution, was accepted, and the same committee was charged with the office of organizing a society according to its suggestions. We may as well say here, in passing, that the society was organized on the following day, by the choice of Rev. Dr. Nichols as President, Rev. Drs. Parkman and Frothingham, Vice-Presidents, Rev. Charles Brooks, Secretary, Rev. Dr. Peabody, Treasurer, and Rev. Drs. Walker, Putnam, Lamson, and Barrett, as Directors.

The Rev. W. H. Channing, as chairman of another committee appointed last year, made a report on the original purpose and design of the Conference, with suggestions as to its range of membership and uses, and propositions as to its future method and action. An hour was fixed for the discussion of the subject presented in Dr. Gannett's address, and, till that arrived, a discussion, which was continued on the following day, was held on Mr. Channing's report and resolutions. Remarks were made, in the course of the discussion, by Rev. Drs. Nichols, Parkman, Gannett, and Hall, and by Rev. Messrs. Pierpont, Sanger, Channing, Osgood, Stone, Huntoon, Shackford, Miles, Judd, A. Hill, Morison, Bellows, Burnap, Conant, and Bacon.

Resolutions were adopted, as the result of the discussion on Mr. Channing's report, which promise henceforward to make this Conference more profitable.

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*Sunday School Society.* — The exercises connected with the anniversary of this Society took place in the church in Channing Street, on Wednesday evening, May 30. The President, Hon. S. C. Phillips, being absent, Hon. Samuel Hoar, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair. Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence, R. I., opened the meeting with prayer. The singing was by a youthful choir under the direction of Rev. C. F. Barnard of Warren Street Chapel. The Annual Report was read by the Secretary, Rev. Charles Brooks; and Mr. Gideon F. Thayer, Chairman of the Board of Visiting Agents of the Society, presented the statistics of their labors. Addresses were then made by Rev. Charles

T. Brooks of Newport, R. I., Mr. J. W. Foster of Portsmouth, N. H., Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Ill., Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester, and Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, Md.

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*Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society.*—This unobtrusive and useful Society, which was especially dear to the heart of the late Rev. Dr. Ware, Jr., and which has owed much of its efficiency to his devoted labors in its behalf, held its annual meeting on Thursday, May 31. The President, Hon. Richard Sullivan, filled the chair, and the Reports of the Treasurer and Secretary showed that the Society had been faithfully pursuing its work. Benevolent gifts, which would doubtless have sought the medium of this Society, may have been diverted to more urgent agencies; yet we cannot but commend it anew to the kind regards of generous spirits in our churches.

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*The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity.*—This Society, which is another of our more quiet and unobserved agencies for doing good, by the distribution of the best religious volumes, held its annual meeting on Friday, June 1, at the house of Rev. Dr. Young, where its simple business was accomplished by choosing its officers for the coming year.

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*Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts.*—This body held its annual meeting for business, in the Supreme Court Room, on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 30. The Rev. N. Adams, D. D., the preacher for this year, took the chair as Moderator, and opened the meeting with prayer. The usual routine of business was gone through, and the names of the widows and orphans of Congregational pastors, the recipients of the charities of the Convention, were announced. Rev. A. C. Thompson of Roxbury was reelected Scribe, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Treasurer, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs of Braintree, Auditor. Rev. Dr. Parkman, Secretary of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, announced that the amount of the fund held in trust by that Society for the Convention is \$7,067, and that the whole amount of the general and trust funds of the Society is \$96,199.60.

Rev. Professor Park of Andover, chosen as Second Preacher for this year, will be First Preacher in course for the next year, and as, by a sort of tacit understanding, the Unitarian portion of the Convention are to have the pulpit one year in three, the ballot being taken, the Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D. D., had 88 votes out of 112 given for Second Preacher.

The Rev. Dr. Lowell, chairman of a committee on the subject of slavery, appointed by the Convention last year, reported, that the seven members of the committee had distributed the whole subject into topics and portions among themselves, and that the several parts had been digested into a Report, the reading of which would occupy five or six hours.

An abstract of the Report had also been prepared, which, by vote of the Convention, was read by Rev. Dr. Worcester of Salem, a member of the committee. It was likewise voted, that the whole Report be

printed; though, of course, the Convention could not take any decisive action upon it, as the principle of receiving "for substance of doctrine" has never been formally sanctioned by the whole Convention.

The Convention Sermon was preached on Thursday, May 31st, at 11 o'clock, in the church in Brattle Square, by Rev. N. Adams, D. D., from 2 Timothy i. 12: subject, "The Assurance of Faith as warranted by the Certainty of the Way of Salvation." The discourse implied throughout an assumption of the Calvinistic terms of salvation, though it did not define or state them. It was written with great beauty and force of language, and delivered in a way to chain the attention of a large audience. The preacher made two positive and unqualified statements, which perhaps might be more properly suggested as inferences, viz.:—"Thus far women make the majority of the redeemed in heaven"; and, "There is nothing that God hates so much as false doctrine."

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*Devotional Exercises of Anniversary Week.*—Morning Prayer and Conference Meetings were held at an early hour, on four successive days, at the Church of the Saviour (Rev. R. C. Waterston's), the Church of the Disciples (Rev. J. F. Clarke's), the church in Bulfinch Street (Rev. F. T. Gray's), and the church in Harrison Avenue (Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge's). Prayers, singing, and brief addresses from several ministers and laymen, imparted a freshness of interest and a devotional glow to those who took part in the meetings. Some regard them as the most improving of all the exercises of Anniversary Week.

The closing services, with the administration of the Lord's Supper, were held in the church in Channing Street, on Thursday evening, May 31. A discourse was preached by Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York, and the services at the communion-table were by Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton.

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*Missionary Meetings.*—The Rev. Mr. De Lange of Quincy, Ill., having remained in the city for a short sojourn, on this his first visit here, his presence has been improved at meetings held on successive Sunday evenings to increase an interest in our missionary cause.

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*Ordinations.*—The First Congregational Church and Society in BURLINGTON, Vt., which suffered so severe a bereavement in the loss of its last pastor, the Rev. Mr. Peabody, ordained as his successor, on Wednesday, May 16, Mr. SOLON W. BUSH, a recent graduate of the Divinity School at Cambridge. The Sermon on the occasion was by Rev. E. B. Hall, D. D., of Providence, R. I.; the Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. J. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y.; the Charge, by Rev. A. Hill of Worcester; the Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. S. Saltmarsh, of Windsor, Vt.; the Address to the Society, by Rev. John Corder of Montreal. Dr. Hall's text was from Luke ix. 60: "Let the dead bury their dead." Respectful and affectionate references were made to the late pastor of the society by all who took part in the services, which were of a very serious and impressive character. Pastors from four of the States of this Union, and from the British dominions, were there engaged in exercises whose real solemnity

is a sufficient substitute for whatever loss they may have suffered of an ancient superstitious regard.

Mr. EDWARD P. BOND, of the class about to graduate from the Divinity School at Cambridge, was ordained as an Evangelist in the church in Channing Street, Boston, (Rev. Dr. Gannett's,) on Tuesday evening, June 12. On account of the failure of his health, the candidate was about to seek the benefit of a sea-voyage, when he received an appointment from the American Unitarian Association as a missionary to California. The exercises at his Ordination were as follows:—Introductory Prayer, by Rev. J. White, of Dedham; Reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. J. F. Clarke; Sermon, by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, from Philippians i. 27; Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. C. Lincoln, of Fitchburg; Charge, by Rev. Dr. Gannett; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. H. F. Bond, of Barre, brother of the candidate; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. N. S. Folsom.

#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Inauguration of the President of Harvard College.*—On Wednesday, June 20, Jared Sparks, LL. D., was formally inducted into office as the successor of those reverend and honored men who have presided over Harvard College. The true dignity of that office is perhaps felt most impressively, when, amid all the associations of the place and occasion, the prominent men in all the departments of service in our Commonwealth assemble to inaugurate a new President. There is just enough of simple ceremonial to dignify the occasion, without any idle parade or pageantry which might make it puerile. The exercises took place in the church of the First Parish, in Cambridge. The procession formed at Gore Hall, was preceded by the undergraduates, and moved to the church about four o'clock. Ex-Presidents Quincy and Everett were present. Solemn music, with a Latin hymn and chants, and prayers by Rev. Professors Walker and Francis, constituted the devotional portion of the exercises. His Excellency Governor Briggs, in a short address, invested the new President with the keys, the seal, and the charter of the College, and remained standing during the reply with which Dr. Sparks received them. After an appropriate and spirited oration in Latin, by Charles Francis Choate, of the Senior Class, the President delivered his Inaugural Address. A collation in Harvard Hall, and a general illumination of the College buildings in the evening, were the festivities of the occasion.

*A New Assault upon Protestantism.*—In the course of the last three years, Dr. Dollinger, a distinguished Roman Catholic divine, has published at Ratisbon, in three octavo volumes, covering some two thousand pages, a work, the object of which is to discredit the Reformation through Protestant testimony. His volumes are made up of extracts from the writings of Protestants, who have incidentally expressed judgments and opinions of the workings of the Reformation in Germany which admit of so unfair a construction, that, when severed from their general connection and aim, they seem to impute to Protestant-

ism itself all the evils which it has failed to prevent or overcome, however it may rebuke and oppose them. The sad sentences of disappointment, the complaints and bewailings, which social evils and religious discords have drawn from the pens of writers out of the Roman Church, have been culled from their works by Dr. Dollinger, and put to a use of which they never dreamed. The reader of his volumes might forget that he was perusing a forced and ingenious array of sentences expressive of the temporary dejection, or the hasty and unguarded judgment, of about three hundred writers, and imagine that he had before him the combined testimony of all Protestants, as the confession of one man, in shame and sorrow, that the fruits of the Reformation had been necessarily and without exception disastrous and evil. Testimony gathered in a similar manner might be found in quantity far exceeding the contents of Dr. Dollinger's volumes, and of like quality, to discredit civilization, Christianity, and even the course of Divine Providence.

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*A Memorial of the Last French Revolution.* — There have been published recently in Paris volumes of a remarkable character, which will help to reproduce almost, to the eyes of coming generations, the most vivid scenes attending the late distractions in France. The volumes contain copies of the Placards, Broad-sides, Posters, *Affiches*, and Medals connected with and commemorative of the occurrences of the Revolution in Paris, in 1848. During the existence of the Provisional Government, a Poster or Placard was printed every other day, and affixed to the walls all over Paris, by order of the temporary rulers. These were at once imitated by the Socialists, the Red Republicans, and the Reformers; and so numerous were these insane, exciting, and grotesque announcements, that the government was compelled to monopolize the white-paper sheets as the only way of distinguishing its own edicts. More than six hundred medals were struck in honor of successive leaders, banquets, and riots, many of them being ornamented with death's heads, and with savage mottoes like this: — "Du Pain, ou du Plomb," — Bread or Bullets. What era in civilization will these volumes be regarded as recording?

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*Mr. Layard and Nineveh.* — The Trustees of the British Museum have appropriated fifteen thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of Mr. Layard in prosecuting his excavations at Nineveh. He is now connected with the British Embassy at Constantinople.

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*Sketches of the Lives and Writings of Distinguished Anti-Trinitarians.* — A work under this title, which promises to be of very great interest, and which has been in preparation for a long series of years, is now completed by the author, the Rev. Robert Wallace, Unitarian minister of Bath, England, and awaits only an increase of the number of subscribers to be committed to the press. The author, who is a member of the Historico-Theological Society of Leipsic, and lately Theological Professor in Manchester New College, is admirably qualified for the task which he has undertaken. His work is based chiefly on those of Sandius, Zeltner, and Bock, and will embrace notices of three hundred and sixty anti-Trinitarians, and accounts of their writ-

ings, thus affording a chronological view of the interests of Unitarianism in Europe from the Reformation to the eighteenth century. The work will appear in three demy-octavo volumes. The subscription price in England is about eight dollars. Our own publishers (Messrs. Crosby & Nichols) will be happy to receive the names of subscribers in this country.

A work of a similar character, and relating to our own country, is announced by Messrs. James Munroe & Co., to be prepared by the Rev. Wm. Ware. The biographies of the most distinguished anti-Trinitarian divines of America will be embraced in successive volumes. The compiler and editor is eminently qualified to perform the work with good judgment and accuracy, as well as with ability.

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*Royal College of Preceptors.* — We have received from England several documents relating to an institution which promises to afford essential service to the cause of education. It is designed to elevate and improve the profession of the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress, — to take that noble profession out of the possible and actual risks of quackery, — to demand for it a higher estimation, and to help toward the better qualification of those engaged in it. The whole plan is simple and liberal. Those who propose themselves for teachers are at liberty, and are invited, to become members of this college, to offer themselves to its Council for Examination, and to receive, if deserving, its certificates. The institution has received an act of incorporation, and now numbers about 1500 members. The whole number of teachers of private schools in England is supposed to be about 25,000. We shall be interested to hear of the success of this college, which has been so vigorously commenced; and when we learn more about it, we shall communicate the information to our readers.

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#### O B I T U A R Y .

REV. HEZEKIAH PACKARD, D. D., died in Salem, Mass., April 25th, 1849, aged 87.

The name of this venerable servant of God cannot be mentioned without a feeling of unfeigned respect. It is associated with a life of purity, uprightness, and usefulness. Of late it has been seldom before the public, and to the younger portion of the community may be almost unknown; but it was once familiar in connection with offices of trust, and held in high esteem, not only by the congregations to which he ministered, but by the eminent men of New England who were his contemporaries. He was a fine representative of the clergymen of the old school. His manners were simple, yet dignified, grave without austerity, sedate without gloom. There was, indeed, an admirable combination in his character of seriousness and humor, strictness of principle and tenderness of heart, firmness of purpose with charitableness of judgment. As a preacher he was plain and impressive, without being eloquent. He did not address the passions, nor aim at sudden effect, but calmly and soberly reasoned and exhorted. He sought to win rather than terrify men to repentance. He endeavored to *instruct* them unto righteousness and to make them *wise unto salvation*. In opinion he oc-

cupied what he called the "middle ground"; standing aloof from partisanship and controversy, avoiding all extremes, maintaining a spirit of conciliation and an attitude of peace towards all Christians. The most excellent article of his creed was charity. In defence of it he was manly and firm, and for the sake of it he endured persecution. He styled himself "a Bible Christian." In applying to himself, however, this epithet, he did not assume any superiority over others, but expressed only his idea of what a Christian should be, and his own ruling purpose to form his faith and govern his life entirely by the Scriptures.

Dr. Packard was a graduate of Harvard College in the year 1787, and a tutor in the same institution from 1789 to 1793. He was first settled at Chelmsford, Mass., in 1793, subsequently at Wiscasset in Maine, in 1802, and afterwards at North Chelmsford, Mass., in 1830; where he remained till he withdrew from the active duties of the ministry in 1836, after a faithful service of about forty-three years.

In his early life he served as a soldier in the American army during the war of the Revolution, and the fire of patriotism which was then kindled in his breast burned freshly to the last. The struggles of our fathers were one of his favorite topics of conversation, and the character of Washington a subject of frequent eulogy and of earnest commendation to the young.

He was deeply interested in the cause of education. For many years he received a limited number of boys and young men into his family to prepare for college, some of whom have attained to eminence in the different professions, and all of whom cherish the memory of their teacher and friend with profound gratitude and esteem. Dr. Packard was for a period Vice-President of Bowdoin College.

His last days were spent in the family of one of his children, cheered by the delightful attentions of filial love, the visits and letters of numerous friends, the memory of a well-spent life, and the assured hope of immortality.

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MRS. MARTHA FREME.

Seldom has such a thrill of grief and horror been felt through a community as pervaded the town of Brattleboro', Vt., on the death of this excellent lady in the conflagration of her dwelling-house in that town, about midnight of Sunday, May 20th. She was nearly fourscore years of age. Born in England, she was brought to this country in childhood, together with several brothers and sisters long and favorably known among us, by her father, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Wells, for many years the venerable pastor of the Congregational Church in Brattleboro'. After growing up, she visited her native country, and was there married to Mr. Freme, a wealthy merchant of Liverpool. On his death, she returned to America, fourteen years ago; and has since then resided in the noble mansion erected by her father in Brattleboro', with her two sisters. Here she soon made herself in many ways a public benefactor. Her charities were extensive, not only in alms, but also in personal kindness to rich and poor. A universal favorite with all classes, there is no one that will be more missed throughout the village and neighbourhood. Her home was the abode of elegant hospitality and refined courtesy, where strangers and neighbours, the young and the old, were alike welcomed and charmed by her polished manners of the old school, her intelligence and wide knowledge of the world, her quick penetration and

clear judgment. She retained to the last a vivid interest in all public enterprises and political movements, abroad as well as at home, promising progress and improvement to her species, and gave her sympathies at once to the oppressed and enslaved of every race. A professor of the religion of Christ from early life, she was exemplary in the discharge of her religious duties, public and domestic. A decided Unitarian, she lived on the kindest terms with Christians of every name, knew no bigotry in her own heart and disarmed it in all the churches around her against herself. All seemed to esteem and revere her as a fine exemplification of a genuine Christian lady,—one who combined in herself the characteristic excellences of the women of both the countries between which her life had been divided, Old England and New England. Her funeral was attended by all denominations, who crowded the largest church in the place, courteously offered for the occasion by the Orthodox society, and the amiable pastor of that society took part in the solemnities of the pulpit.

She had attended her own church forenoon and afternoon of the day preceding the night of the awful tragedy, was unusually interested in a missionary movement going on in it, returned to her happy home amidst nature's loveliest scenery, passed the evening in cheerful converse,—among her last acts making characteristic arrangements for a deed of kindness to a relative, and declining to retire for the night, though exceedingly oppressed with weariness, before the assembling of the family for evening prayer; she then went to her rest with a soul at peace and in charity with all mankind. A fire broke out about midnight,—the cause unknown, but probably from a light in her chamber,—and she was not seen nor heard again. Before the neighbourhood was alarmed, the whole spacious building was in flames; her two sisters and two female domestics, who were the only other inmates of the house, escaped from the windows of the opposite side of the dwelling; and the hope is, that her spirit passed away, unconscious of suffering, under suffocation in heavy sleep. Our church in Brattleboro' has sustained an irreparable loss; and her kindred, far and wide, her dependants, her friends, remembering her many virtues, cherishing a grateful impression of her disinterested, thoughtful, ever-active kindness to all with whom she was connected, must deeply mourn their bereavement; but for her, we know she dwelleth with the just above.

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\* \* In this number twenty-four pages are added to the regular size of the Examiner.